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THE PARLIAMENT IN TURKEY.

AT a time when administrative and constitutional changes are contemplated in India, it may be of interest to readers of *East & West* to be reminded by what steps Turkey has at last succeeded in obtaining the beginnings of Parliamentary institutions, and a duly elected House of Representatives. The story is so long and so suggestive that no comments other than such as any reader can make for himself are required. The facts speak for themselves.

The constitution in virtue of which the Turkish Parliament met on the 18th December is already thirty-two years old. It was promulgated on the 23rd December 1876. The state of the Turkish Empire was then extremely critical. The Sultan Abdul Aziz had been deposed by the *coup d'état* of the 29th May 1876, and had committed suicide a few days after. His successor, Murad V., became insane in the stress and anxiety of the time, and was deposed on the 31st August of the same year. In his place was appointed Abdul Hamid II., the present ruler. Before he came to the throne, the new Sultan formally promised to aid the constitutional projects of his ministers. He had need of all the help he could obtain from the wisest and most capable advisers. Abdul Aziz had been a reckless spendthrift and the treasury was bankrupt. The public debt amounted to more than £200,000,000. The Porte, for the first time, was compelled to suspend payment of even the interest on its loans. The civil administration was hopelessly disorganised, and its members only maintained themselves by open and shameless corruption. The army was in as distracted a state as the civil service, and the pay of the troops was in heavy arrears.

Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria successively seized the opportunity to throw off the Turkish yoke. The Bulgarians had, indeed, been reduced to unwilling submission by the cruelties of the Bashibazooks, and the Servians had been beaten in

several engagements ; but Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro have victoriously resisted Turkish arms, and the other two States only awaited an opportunity to rebel once more. Such was the critical condition of the Turkish Empire when the six great powers that had signed the Treaty of Paris resolved, on the suggestion of Great Britain, to hold a Conference at Constantinople, and to decide what steps should be taken to secure the safety of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The spirit in which several of the powers came to the Conference left little doubt as to their intentions. It was plain that the integrity and independence of the Turkish kingdom were in deadly peril ; and Abdul Hamid thought, wisely no doubt that the best means of averting the dangers by which his rule was menaced, was to make Europe and his own subjects believe that he was resolved upon a thorough reform of his administration. His task was the easier, because it was as a quasi-constitutional monarch that he had been raised to the throne. His first step, then, was to elevate to the post of Grand-Vizir the famous Midhat Pasha, who was then regarded as the incarnation of the Young Turkey party of the time. During the last troubled years of Abdul Aziz, Midhat Pasha had come to see that there was only one way to put an end to the disgraceful corruption and administrative ineptitude of which his country was the prey. He had long resolved to do all that in him lay to secure the co-operation of all loyal Turkish subjects, whatever their race or religion, in the task of reforming the Government.

Midhat Pasha was born in Constantinople in the year 1822, and was the son of a humble subordinate in the Government service. He himself began his career as a clerk in the Secretariat of the Grand-Vizir. After having occupied various posts in the provinces, he was promoted in 1849 to the rank of second secretary to the Grand Council of State, and in 1851 became chief secretary to that body. After performing with success and credit a confidential mission in Syria, he took a leading part in the negotiations which preceded the Crimean War. He was subsequently sent to pacify the provinces of Adrianople and the Balkans, and afterwards those of Widdin and Silistria in Europe. In 1858, Midhat spent a furlough of six months in studying European administrative systems at Paris, London, Vienna and Brussels. In 1861 he was appointed Governor of Bulgaria, and succeeded in effecting many salutary reforms. In

1865 he was nominated to the charge of the Vilayat of the Danube. In 1868 he was called to be President of the Council of State, and in the following year he was sent as Governor-General and Commandant of the 6th Army Corps to Bagdad, where he rendered such excellent service that in 1873, Abdul Aziz made him Grand-Vizir. He had, however, the temerity to resist the unbridled extravagance of his royal master, was exiled from headquarters to be Governor of Salonika, and was finally appointed Minister of Justice and President of the Council of State, which posts he resigned in 1874. On the 19th December 1876, he was once more appointed Grand-Vizir, and it was on the 23rd, the very day on which the conference of the powers met, that he promulgated the famous constitution which is known by his name.

What was this constitution? The first two articles define the boundaries of the Turkish Empire and appoint Constantinople as its capital. The city was, however, to have no special political privileges. According to articles 3, 4, and 5, the Ottoman sceptre and the Khalifate of all Islam belong by right to the eldest prince of the Osmanlik dynasty. The Sultan is irresponsible, and his person is sacred. The personal security, the landed property, and the civil list of members of the royal family are guaranteed by Article 6. Article 7 defines the prerogatives of the monarch. He can appoint and dismiss the ministers. He can nominate the rulers of provinces. He can coin money. His name is to be mentioned in all public prayers in the mosques. He can make treaties with foreign powers. He can declare war or conclude peace. He commands all forces by land and sea. He is the executive authority in the enforcement of the laws. He can remit or commute punishments inflicted by the criminal courts. He can convoke or prorogue the General Assembly. He can dissolve Parliament, if he think fit, subject to the obligation of issuing writs for a fresh election.

The constitution of 1876 proceeds to recognise the fact that the status of an Ottoman subject does not involve any distinction of race or religion. Personal liberty is guaranteed to all subjects of the Sultan who have not been tried and condemned by due process of law. Islam is pronounced to be the religion of the State, but the free exercise of all recognised religions is guaranteed. The liberty of the press is recognised, as well as the right to form associ-

ations and hold public meetings. The right of teaching in accordance with the religious ideas of parents is guaranteed, as are also the inviolability of private homes and personal property. All Ottomans are equal before the law. All have the same privileges and duties in public matters without regard to their religious beliefs. Public functions are open to all Ottomans, according to their aptitudes, merit and capacity, on condition that they are acquainted with Turkish, the language of the State. Taxes are to be imposed according to law and the circumstances of the payers.

The Sultan has power to appoint under his own sign manual the Grand-Vizir and the Shekh-ul-Islam. The other ministers are nominated by imperial *irade* or regulation. The privy council consists of the ministers assembled under the presidency of the Grand-Vizir. The ministers are responsible for all official acts committed by them. Article 31 describes the procedure to be followed if one or several members of Parliament have any complaint to make against a minister with reference to facts of which the Parliament desires to take cognisance. Article 37 states that ministers have the right to be present in Parliament in person or by deputy, and have also the right of precedence over other members in addressing that assembly. Article 38 enacts that ministers shall attend Parliament to answer all questions adopted by a majority of votes. The ministers in question are, however, permitted to adjourn their answers for due cause shown.

The Parliament is composed of two Houses : that of the Lords or Senate, and that of the elected deputies. Both are to take an oath to be faithful to the Sultan and their country, to observe the constitution, to fulfil the mandate confided to them, and to abstain from all action contrary to their duties. Article 47 stipulates that all members shall have freedom of speech and voting. Article 48 enumerates various cases in which members of either House may be deprived of their mandate. Article 49 says that voting must be personal and not by proxy, but that members may abstain from voting, if they so wish. Article 50 rules that no person shall be a member of both Houses at the same time. Article 36 enacts that if the lower House rejects any Bill which the Government regards as vital, the House may be dissolved by the sovereign, subject to the holding of a fresh election within the period fixed by law.

The President and members of the Senate are nominated by the Sultan. Their total number shall not exceed a third of the number of members elected to the lower House. Senators are nominated for life, and must be at least forty years old. They are paid a salary of £ 92 monthly during the session. The Senate has the power to examine the Budget and Bills submitted to it by the lower House. Those which it accepts are referred to the Grand-Vizir. The others are sent back to the lower House or vetoed.

Deputies are elected by ballot. There is one deputy for every 50,000 males. No Government servant other than a minister can be a member of Parliament. General elections are to take place every four years. Each deputy represents the whole country and not only his own constituency. In case of dissolution of the House by imperial *iradé*, a new election will take place within such time as to enable Parliament to reassemble not later than six months after dissolution. An allowance of about £84 per session and travelling expenses are paid to each deputy. The President and Vice-Presidents are chosen by the Sultan out of a list of nine elected by the chamber. All sittings of the Parliament are open to the public. All members are free from arrest, except for actual crime, during the session.

Provisions are made for public justice, and elementary instruction is compulsory for all Ottomans. Article 115 enacts that no provision of the Constitution may be contravened or suspended. Any proposal to change the Constitution may be submitted to the Senate if passed by a majority of two-thirds of the lower House. If passed by the Senate, it shall be sent to the Sultan for consideration. It will be seen that this constitution, on paper at least, was based on the best European models with some modifications necessary to suit it to the peculiar conditions of Turkey. All that was required was the royal good-will. At first Abdul Hamid believed that the promulgation of so liberal a constitution would meet with the approval of the Western powers. When the Conference met at the Admiralty at the Golden Horn, the first of a hundred and one guns boomed over the water to salute the new order of things, and Safvet Pasha, one of the two Turkish plenipotentiaries, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, rose solemnly to announce to the assembled delegates that Turkey had taken her place among constitutional kingdoms. "In presence of this great event," he said, "I venture to believe that our deliberations

are unnecessary." Unhappily, this suggestion had not the success that was expected. General Ignatieff rose in his turn to propose measures which would have involved such a blow to Turkish independence as rendered it impossible for the Turkish representatives to accept them.

After several weeks of sterile discussion, the final proposals of the Conference were submitted to the Porte in the form of an ultimatum, which was rejected, and the plenipotentiaries separated without having arrived at any satisfactory result. It was plain that war must speedily ensue, if some understanding could not be arrived at. Midhat Pasha strove with equal courage and patriotism to effect a pacific solution, but Abdul Hamid, who feared the liberal ideas of his prime minister even more than he dreaded the Russian power, and probably hoped to pacify the Czar by sacrificing Midhat, dismissed him from his post and exiled him on the 3rd February, 1877. On the 4th of March, the Sultan in person presided over the sessions of what had by this time come to be called the *evet effendim*—the *jo hukms* in our Anglo-Indian phrase. On the 23rd April, war with Russia was declared, and the Sultan seized the occasion to dismiss his phantom assembly.

All the world knows the sad tale of the Russo-Turkish war, of the gallantry of the Turkish troops, of their final defeat, of the manner in which the vanquished but not dishonoured Turks were handed over to the mercies of their conqueror by the Treaty of San Stefano. The most vigorous articles of this Treaty were, however, modified by the Berlin Conference, chiefly through the firmness and diplomatic skill of the British representatives, who brought back with them to London, in the current phrase of the day, "Peace with Honour."

As for the unhappy Midhat, after an exile in Western Europe, he was recalled to Turkey in 1878, was sent as Governor to Smyrna, in 1881, was arrested on the probably trumped-up accusation of having caused the assassination of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, was condemned and transported to Taif in Arabia, where his throat was cut on the 26th April 1883, in accordance with orders received from Constantinople. Thus perished, untimely, a martyr to his zeal and patriotism, one of the noblest and most devoted of Turkish gentlemen and statesmen.

After the war, Turkey relapsed into a state of subjection to the absolute and unquestioned rule of the Sultan. But the seed sown by Midhat was not dead, and perhaps grew all the more vigorously in the end in consequence of the period of repression which followed on the Russian victories. Young Turkey had to hold its tongue for a while, but young Turks travelled, and thought, and conversed. French literature, widely read in Turkey at all times, had its influence. Finally in 1895, Ahmed Reza founded his tiny but constitutionally important journal, the *Meshveret*. In its first number, that of the 1st December 1895, was published the programme of the now famous Committee of Union and Progress. It contained the following paragraphs, amongst others—

“We are resolved to work, not for the removal of the present dynasty, which we hold to be necessary for the maintenance of public order, but with a view to propagate the ideas of progress, whose pacific triumph we desire.

“We demand reforms, not for this or that province, but for the whole empire; not in favour of any single nationality, but in favour of all Ottomans, be they Jews, Christians or Mussalmans.”

Written in Turkish and French, the *Meshveret* penetrated to all parts of the Empire of Turkey, and for fourteen years kept alive the little flame of constitutional ideals lighted by the martyred Midhat Pasha. The headquarters of the party of Young Turkey was at Paris, but, in the meanwhile, under the guidance of their organ, the *Meshveret* (later on published in Egypt under the title of the *Shurai-Ummet*), subsidiary associations to the Committee of Union and Progress were formed, and finally it was resolved to extend the constitutional propaganda to Salonika itself, where there met an influential group of Liberal Young Turks known as the Committee of Liberty (*Huriyat*). In the capital a remarkably efficient body of detective police, organised by the sovereign himself, rendered all public meetings impossible, and all attempts at organisation dangerous. But at Salonika the authorities were either less energetic or more benevolent. It was consequently at Salonika that the Europeanised Turks began, not, we may imagine, without some misgivings, the education of their more backward fellow-countrymen, and especially of the priests and the army.

It had to be borne in mind that the great mass of the Turks were ignorant of even the rudiments of the social and political life slowly evolved by Western nations through many stormy and confused centuries. Turkey, lying between Europe and Asia, had ever been the seat of political trouble, and all but constant warfare. The people had been treated by its ruling class as an inert mass, incapable of taking any active or intelligent part in the management of the national affairs. They had become accustomed, by long habit, to be governed, sometimes sympathetically, sometimes with the ruthless vigour that comes of political or social panic, but never with a sense that they too had a right to be consulted. The Government and the priesthood were alike despotic, and the people as a whole was torpidly ignorant of the things done under its name and by means of its moral and material resources. It was necessary to wake the ignorant masses to the fact that a higher liberty, both physical and intellectual, was open to all classes even under Muslim rule, that, in fact, the régime of autocracy was opposed to the true spirit of the Quran. The task was essentially a moral one. It required little money. It needed no bombs or fire-arms, since the use of physical force was opposed to the root doctrines of the new propaganda. Money the propagandists dreaded. They had no desire that any of their number should be prompted by selfish or mercenary motives. As for bombs and the other weapons of reckless and anarchical enthusiasts, these were even more hateful to the highly cultured authors of the peaceful Turkish evolution. They had no desire to strike blindly or to arouse the natural indignation of the crowd by hurting the innocent, or even the (according to their ideas) misguided leaders of the old system. Their object was not to meet force with force, but to convert and persuade their rulers, who, after all, were their fellow-subjects. As one of them has said, "We were convinced that an appeal to the highest sentiments of our fellow-countrymen was certain to be well received and to produce more immediate results than a recourse to the violent means which have always been the bane of our country. Events have happily shown that we were right." As a matter of fact, the response was immediate and strikingly enthusiastic. Not only young fellows with little to risk or lose, but grave fathers of families joined in the constitutional movement. Men who would have regarded a revolutionary propaganda

against the person of the *Khalif* with horror, were willing to join in an organised attempt to popularise and improve the *Khalif's* administration. Hence, too, it was that the officers and men of the Turkish army could join in the movement without any sense of disloyalty or disobedience to the rules of military discipline. The Turkish people, one of the least hysterical and most law-abiding in the world, were able to associate themselves with the reformers without any fear of being dragged into rash excesses. The constitution already existed. The sovereign owed his place on the throne to the fact that he had promised to respect its provisions. The movement was essentially that of children who respectfully called upon their political father, the hereditary head of the Turkish race and religion, to redeem his solemn pledge.

When finally the central Committee of Union and Progress was convinced that the great bulk of the army and the nation were in favour of an attempt to restore and apply Midhat's constitution, they prepared a careful and methodical scheme, so as to impress upon the authorities at Constantinople the fact that the people were convinced that a change was necessary. They first satisfied themselves that they would have the moral, and if necessary, the active support of the troops in Asia Minor. They then turned their attention to the garrisons of Adrianople, Salonika and Monastir. The troops in Constantinople itself were left alone. There, the forces of despotism were too strong, and it was feared that any attempt to win over the Sultan's immediate bodyguard might lead to forcible repression and bloodshed, which would cause a probably successful campaign of reaction.

It was only in last July that Nazim Bey informed his royal master that the popular movement had taken firm hold of all the provinces. This Nazim Bey must not be confounded with the Dr. Nazim, who was one of the most important propagators of the constitutional movement in Asia Minor. Nazim Bey is married to the sister of Major Enver Bey, then attached to the garrison of Salonika. Enver Bey now shares with Niazi Bey and Dr. Nazim the credit of being the leaders of the quick, persistent and bloodless campaign which has brought about another, and it is to be hoped, successful attempt to govern the Turkish Empire on constitutional lines. Nazim Bey's report produced so strong an effect on the Sultan's

mind that he determined to win over Enver Bey by any means. The flattering offer of an alliance with the Sultan's own daughter was made to the popular Major, who, however, perceived the risks that lay behind a proposal which, a few years ago, it would have been impossible to refuse. Enver Bey determined that the time had come for immediate action. He took to the mountains with a small body of trusty retainers and marched towards Tikvesh. This step was the beginning of the singularly bloodless revolution which finally led the Sultan to recognise his constitutional duties. The example of Enver Bey was followed by Major Niazi Bey who commanded the troops at Rosna. It was this that convinced the Committee at Salonika that they could wait no longer, if they were to avoid the horrors of civil war. Unhappily, they were not wholly able to prevent bloodshed. A commission of enquiry, consisting of General Ismail Mahir Pasha, Sadik Pasha, Rajab Pasha, and Fahmi Bey, was sent by the palace to Salonika, but was compelled to return to Constantinople. The town was cleared of spies and emissaries. Osman Pasha was put under arrest by the Committee, and on the 20th July Monastir and Salonika sent a respectful demand to the *Khalif* desiring the proclamation of the constitution. On the 23rd, as there was no reply from headquarters, the Committee itself proclaimed the Constitution and informed the palace of the action it had taken. On the 24th the Sultan accepted the situation and his rôle of constitutional ruler of Turkey. As everyone remembers, his decision was received with a remarkably unanimous outburst of enthusiasm and loyalty by all his subjects, Jew, Christian and Mussalman. Out of a population of some thirty millions, not a single voice hostile to the new order was raised, and the European powers showed themselves to be sympathetic to a movement which bids fair to bring about the regeneration of the country with a minimum of disturbance and confusion. Even such sturdy conservatives and reactionaries as Izzat Pasha openly recognised that their ideas were, for the moment at all events, out of date, and bowed to the unmistakable wish of the Turkish people.

There has been, be it observed, no revolution in either the European or the Asiatic sense. The object of the Committee was the restoration of the constitutional law framed by Midhat Pasha thirty-two years ago, and this object was obtained by the most

prudent, cautious and politic means. The organisers of the movement have, so far, shown themselves to be real statesmen. They were content to wait and work when the times were not ripe for overt action. They seized their opportunity when the right moment came, and when they were convinced that the will and power of the whole people were on their side, they gave effect to it.

The most immediate result was the appointment of Sayyad Pasha to succeed Farid Pasha as Grand Vizir. The choice was not a happy one. Sayyad Pasha was not sufficiently strong to get rid of the gang of favourites who controlled the policy of the palace, and within a few days Kiamil Pasha took his place and began the great constitutional experiment which the whole civilised world is regarding with so much sympathy and interest.

In the second week of August the new electoral law was distributed to the heads of districts. It was decided that the elections should be "indirect," that is, that groups of from 250 to 500 electors of the first degree should choose each of them an elector of the second degree. The electoral constituencies were to consist of the administrative divisions called *Sanjaks*, which correspond roughly to our own Indian districts, a *Sanja*^h being a sub-division of a *Vilayat*, and governed by an officer formerly called a *Sanjak-bey*. These districts are now usually known as *Mutessariflik*, and the district officer as the *Mutessàrif* or *Kaimakam*. *Sanjaks* having from 25,000 to 50,000 male inhabitants chose one deputy; those containing from 50,000 to 125,000 males have two representatives; those that range between 125,000 to 175,000 males elect three, and so on. The elections, polling, &c., were arranged by Commissions appointed for the purpose.

On the 16th August, the ministry issued a proclamation announcing their firm intention to carry on the Government with all due respect to the sovereign rights of the Sultan, to the constitutional privileges of the Council of Ministers and of the Parliament, and to the common-law rights of the people at large. The Cabinet announced that its first duty would be to submit to Parliament schemes for (1) the reorganisation of the national army and fleet; (2) the augmentation of the revenues of the State, not by increased taxation, but by the suppression of speculation and dishonesty and a fairer distribution of burdens; (3) the improvement of the material resources

of the country by the renewal of treaties of commerce with other nations, and the development of the natural resources of Turkey. Other reforms promised were: (1) the reorganisation of public works, which had fallen into grievous confusion and neglect; (2) the encouragement of agriculture; (3) the reform of public instruction; (4) the application of the law relating to military service to all classes of the population; (5) the admission of non-Mussalman boys to military schools; (6) the reorganisation of justice by assuring the independence of magistrates and judges; (7) the maintenance of public order; and, finally, the effort to retain friendly relations with foreign powers. With reference to the "Capitulations"—the rights possessed by foreigners in Turkey to be tried by their own consular authorities—the proclamation used the following significant words:—

"We shall do our best, with the consent of the States interested, to suppress the exceptional jurisdiction applied to foreigners living in the country (other than the general rules of International Law) in virtue of ancient treaties or usages and customs which it is hoped will now be obsolete. It will be our duty to create general confidence in all the services of the State, and to make foreigners understand the uselessness of the special privileges hitherto conceded to them."

During the following week the details of the military reorganisation were published. Service in the army is to be made obligatory for all male subjects of Turkey without distinction of race or religion. The age of military duty is from twenty to twenty-five; three years in the active army, and three in the reserve. The tax on men not called up for service is reduced from £50 Turkish to £25. (A Turkish pound is about six rupees.) This tax has hitherto only been paid by non-Mussalmans, but will now be imposed on all Turkish subjects.

On the 23rd September the Committee of Union and Progress issued a manifesto in which they submitted to the electors a more detailed scheme of reform than that issued by the ministry. It is needless to give this in full, inasmuch as it differs little from the ministerial programme in spirit, and will, of course, be read by all who are interested in Turkish affairs, in the newspaper reports of the doings of the new Parliament. Since the end of September the elections have been in full swing. As might be expected, there have been some not inconsiderable hitches and difficulties, chiefly caused by ethnical differences. There were quarrels between Mussalmans,

Greeks and Armenians, and especially between Mussalmans and Greeks. The Greeks have all the traditional astuteness of their race, and were charged by their simpler Mussalman friends with making false declarations as to the number of qualified Greek voters. The Greeks replied by accusing the electoral Commissions with arranging the roll so as to disenfranchise Christians. Apparently, there is some ground for this latter charge. For instance, the sub-divisions of Preveza and Louros comprise a large majority of Christian males out of a total of 18,910. In Marghariti, which adjoins them, there are only 5,106 Christians out of a total of 15,118. The Commission discovered that in the two Christian communes the cultivators paid their taxes through their landlords, and on this ground disenfranchised them. The net result seems to be that Preveza and Louros are represented by only 5 electors, while Marghariti has 17, all Mussalmans. In this case, it is only fair to add, the Young Turk Committee intervened and brought about a more or less amicable compromise.

On the 25th of May, 1875, Midhat Pasha wrote that "the Ottomans are democrats both in their manners and their religion. Liberal institutions are the best suited to their social state." So far, there is some reason to believe, as we all wish to believe, that this patriotic statesman judged his fellow-countrymen aright. It should be said, in passing, that the privilege of voting belongs to every independent Ottoman subject in possession of civil rights who has attained the age of twenty-five and pays taxes. Soldiers in the army can vote. Members of Parliament must have attained the age of thirty.

So far as the results of the elections were known when this article was written, the choice of the voters has fallen on 150 Mussalmans, 34 Christians (20 Greeks, 5 Armenians, 4 Bulgarians, 4 Servians, and 1 Wallachian) and 2 Jews. At the head of the list is the Minister of Justice with 503 votes : next comes the *ulema* or priest Assim with 475 votes. The third is Ahmad Reza, the editor of the *Mesh-veret*, already mentioned, who has secured 472 votes. The fourth is Effendi Iahid, the editor of the Young Turk organ, the *Tanine*, who has 354 votes. The last on the list is Mr. Cosmidi, a Greek, who has 340 votes.

In considering the working of the Constitution it will be necessary not to neglect the important part likely to be played by the

Senate. As has been already said, the total number of senators must not exceed a third of the elected house. It could, therefore, be raised to about 80 members, but the Shekh-ul-Islam is of opinion that a smaller body would be more useful and practical, and it seems likely that not more than 30 senators will be appointed by the Sultan for the present. Among their number will be three interesting survivals from the Senate of 1876. These are Ibrahim Pasha, an Armenian, Aristarchi Effendi, the grand logothetes of the Greek patriarchate; and, thirdly, Sayyad Pasha, the former grand-vizir. As the Senate is nominated by the crown, it is most important that its members should be free from all suspicion of servility or personal ambitions—another reason for caution in adding to its members. At present, political enthusiasm and the novelty of the situation have the upper hand over personal considerations, but, human nature being what it is, the nomination of the Senate imposes a task of the utmost gravity and responsibility upon the Sultan.

The two most important members of the ministry are, without question, the venerable Kiamil Pasha, and Hilmi Pasha, of whom the world is likely to hear more in the coming years. Kiamil Pasha is eighty years old and is a Turkish diplomatist of the ancient school. His age and habits make him cautious and conservative. He is a good French and English scholar, and is likely to be most useful in avoiding misunderstandings with other powers. He is an expert in the confused politics of the Balkan states, and is not likely to be led into rash action by excessive enthusiasm. He has neither the physical energy nor the training to be of much use in parliament, but he is a useful link with the past and with the traditions of palace rule.

Hilmi Pasha is a statesman of a curiously different type. He is about fifty-five years old. Tall in figure and of attractive aspect, he is an excellent specimen of the modern Turk, who combines Oriental astuteness with a thorough training in European arts and letters. All who have come into contact with him speak in the highest terms of his tact and ability. When the revolution broke out at Salonika, he represented the government at that place and displayed extraordinary skill and prudence in very difficult and indeed dangerous circumstances. He succeeded in remaining loyal to his sovereign and in winning the respect and confidence of the Committee. It is largely

due to Hilmi Pasha that the Sultan has been treated with so much deference, and that the extraordinary development of popular institutions has been attended by so little bloodshed and disturbance. He seems to possess the mixture of firmness and suppleness which mark the born statesman as distinguished from the vulgar demagogue, and he seems to have, by all accounts, an instinctive knowledge of what may safely be abandoned as of no political import, and what must be preserved at all risks. At the present moment the Committee of Union and Progress commands a large majority in the newly elected Parliament. Alongside of this powerful body exists a second group of reformers led by Prince Sabah-ud-din, known as the "Liberal Union." This party is less liberal in its views than the Committee, and has the support of the venerable Kiamil Pasha and of Hakki Bey, the Minister of Justice mentioned above. He has since been appointed Ambassador at Rome. The cabinet, as a whole, inclines rather towards the moderate "Liberal Union" than to the Young Turks properly so called, but the divisions between the parties are indistinct as yet and will probably become more accentuated by the stress of Parliamentary debate. The Christians, and especially the Greeks, are, curiously enough, credited with "Liberal Union" sympathies. This may be due to a prudent sense that an excessive enthusiasm for reform on their part might be misunderstood and attributed to selfish considerations. It is probable also that they are elderly men for the most part, and therefore constitutionally averse from rash and headlong experiments. For them, if change is desirable, it is a cautious and stable change in the direction of a thoroughly laicised administration, devoid of all religious prejudice and prepossessions.

The writer of this review must apologise for obvious imperfections in a necessarily brief and incomplete account of one of the most momentous and interesting political movements of our time. No doubt the summary contains many omissions and some blunders, But in the main it consists of facts which are known to readers of newspapers, and it aspires to be no more than a brief account of the circumstances under which the Khalif, after thirty years of absolute rule, has been persuaded once more to try the experiment of governing a partly Oriental population by Western methods. The impartial observer cannot but be aware of the perils and reefs that lie

ahead. But it is equally impossible to refuse sympathy and admiration to the men who have brought about so great a change in the government of their country by peaceful means. We can imagine the shade of Midhat Pasha, as he watches the outcome of labours which seemed forgotten and wasted through a whole generation of his fellow-countrymen, quoting the sage yet not wholly discouraging words of the Roman poet:

Quamvis Pontica pinus,
 Silvæ filia nobilis,
Jactes et genus et nomen inutile :
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
 Fidit. Tu nisi ventis
 Debes ludibrium, cave !

AN ANGLO-INDIAN CIVILIAN.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1908.

SOME IMPRESSIONS.

THE last Congress was by no means an enthusiastic Congress. The reception of its President on the day of his advent in Madras was cheerful and exciting but not very fervent. Large crowds greeted him with cries of welcome, but there were no hurrahs nor huzzas. The conduct of the people who lined the streets which he passed through on his progress from the railway station was staid, sedate and subdued, it was not that of crowds determined to give an ovation to a conquering hero. The conduct of the delegates on the first day of the opening of the Congress was even less cheerful and more subdued. A pall of gloom seemed to have hung over the whole pandal where the delegates had congregated. A feeling of something oppressive ran supreme ; there was something urking which chilled the ardour of even the most ardent delegates. Some had come to rejoice, but did not ; others had come to weep, but did not. There was restraint in their manner, hesitancy in their action. The most impassioned passages in the speech of their President did not stir them to display any tumultuous feeling. The leaders, when they came in, were well received, but no one was received with any outburst, not even Mr. Gokhale. What was the cause of this subjugation of feelings by the delegates ?

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I, for one, and many like me, had gone to the Congress with full expectations that the Congress would be an exulting Congress, inebriated with the triumph achieved only a few days before, determined to parade its triumph and gloat over its enemies' discomfiture. I had gone to the Congress to hear the delegates from Bengal flaunt their sorrows and griefs to their exultant brother delegates. These expectations were doomed to a pleasing disappointment. There was

neither rejoicing nor croaking. The delegates did not rejoice, because they brought sorrow at their hearts. The Bengali delegates had no need to exhibit their emotions or to flaunt their sorrows, and to them the task of converting their colleagues from other provinces was superfluous and unnecessary. The delegates, Bengali and non-Bengali, knew the occasion for rejoicing had arisen, but the day of joy had not come. They all felt that one great sorrow still remained. So long as Bengali remained partitioned, there was no room for unmeasured joy. They all realized that though the time for thanksgiving had come, the time for pæans of triumph had been indefinitely postponed.

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The leading Anglo-Indian newspaper of Bombay recently said that the Partition was a local question, that none but the Bengalis were affected by it, and that none but the Bengalis would allow their judgment about the Constitutional Reforms to be influenced thereby. The attitude of the whole body of the delegates was a proof conclusive of the falsity of that statement. The whole body of the delegates seemed to re-echo Lord MacDonnell's courageous remark that the prospects of the scheme of Reform depended on the undoing of the Partition of Bengal. If speaker after speaker welcomed the scheme of reform with no uncertain voice, and thrust the question of the Partition of Bengal in the background, it was not because they did not feel that the Partition question was the one supreme question, superior even to the question of Constitutional Reforms, but because they believed that by adopting a tone of gratitude they would be able to conciliate the Secretary of State and induce him to rectify the Partition blunder. The language of the speakers was the language of diplomacy, not of submission or abandonment. Any inference from the language they used that they resigned themselves finally to the Curzonian decree of Partition would be erroneous, contrary to their real opinion, and contrary to the true facts.

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The Presidential address and Mr. Gokhale's speech on Resolution XVII were the two great speeches during the three days' sitting of the Congress. The Presidential address, with its studied loyalty and moderation, correctly and faithfully represented the true inward feelings, tone and thoughts of the Congress delegates. Possibly it

did not give a very appropriate picture of their aspirations. The keynote of the address was a declaration of reasoned loyalty to the British rule, of complete and irrevocable acceptance of the British hegemony or suzerainty. Every thought, every wish, every feeling, every aspiration was subordinated to these two central principles. But while these were blazoned forth in their true vivid and powerful colours, every other principle which the Congress acknowledges and acts upon, every political doctrine which the Congress upholds and enforces, was given its due and proper place amidst the other declarations in the Presidential address. Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, with the true insight of a great Indian statesman, voiced in dignified language the great political principles on which the Indian National Congress has been based and on which it will rest in the immediate and distant future. Co-operation with and not subordination to British bureaucracy, division of executive and administrative work with the British rulers, and a proper distribution of administrative responsibility with them, a gradual but not slow adaptation of the democratic institutions of the West to the needs of the country, promotion and extension of Swadeshi industries by protective measures, if necessary, till the industries became self-supporting, the education of the countless masses—these were among the manifold principles which the address enunciated with the clearness and precision of a master artist. We all felt that the address was a document worthy of the great occasion, in every way befitting the great assemblage, and occupied a unique rank in the long series of Presidential addresses of the last 24 years. In all probability the less important principles of the Congress will be developed in years to come, will be greatly enriched in fulness of time; probably some of them will be varied, altered or added to, renovated or revised, but the central principles will remain, and so far as these are concerned they will remain permanently enshrined in the eloquent words of the President, and will be studied with due attention and respect by all future generations of educated and enlightened Indians, who, while they will readily acknowledge loyalty to the British Empire and gratitude to the British rule, will nevertheless strive for a gradual emancipation of their countrymen from a condition of political bondage to their rulers to a condition of complete, unalloyed, undiminished equality with them. Dr. Ghosh's speech made it abundantly clear that while the Indian National Congressists repudiate the

idea of a non-British rule, they all cherish the ideal, for which they have striven in the past and will strive in the future, whereby each Indian will become a full British citizen with all his rights and privileges, so that in the end he will be able to say "Civis Britannicus Sum." We all know what full British citizenship means. It involves participation not merely in Indian affairs, but also in Imperial ; it means admission not merely to Indian Legislative and Executive Councils and to the India Office, but also to all Legislative and Executive Councils of the Empire, to the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the Privy Council.

Dr. Ghosh's speech proceeded on the assumption that the delegates assembled understood and knew the full effects of the scheme of reforms promulgated by Lord Morley, and went on to set the seal of approval on it. But as speaker after speaker went on to criticise the scheme, it became clear to the assembled delegates, that an explanation of the scheme was quite necessary. Mr. Gokhale was not among the persons chosen by the Subjects Committee on the first day of its meeting to address the delegates on the scheme of reforms. That was discovered to be a mistake which was rectified on the second day, and on the concluding day of the Congress's sessions Mr. Gokhale delivered his masterly speech wherein he, in most explicit terms, explained the intricacies of the scheme. It seems that, as Mr. Gokhale expressed complete satisfaction with the scheme, the assembled delegates, at any rate the vast majority of them, were satisfied that the scheme was a generous instalment of constitutional reform beyond which it was idle to expect any more for the present or for the very near future ; that Lord Morley and Lord Minto had between them matured the scheme which, taking all the circumstances into consideration, was the best that could be hoped for. The present writer, however, is one of those who believes that though the Secretary of State's scheme of reforms is a substantial, very substantial, measure of reform, it was not over-generous and that Lord Morley could and would have been more generous if he had not been hampered by restraining influences from India. The Congress leaders, including Mr. Gokhale, seemed to think otherwise, and they have accepted the scheme *in its entirety*. They seemed to say, "They wanted the scheme, the whole scheme and nothing but the scheme."

The standard of Congress oratory was undoubtedly high, but not high enough. With a mass of educated delegates meeting together, many of whom have spoken on the Congress platforms for a number of years, one expected a higher degree of excellence among the speeches than was forthcoming. Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, no doubt a great orator, seemed to have made no progress. His speech on the principal resolution was inspiring, but there was in it a lot more of gas and effervescence than solid substance. His manner was delightful, but was more that of a parson than of a great statesman. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya's oratory was altogether of a different sort. His speech contained more solid matter than all the speeches delivered on the principal resolution, but his delivery possessed nothing of the charm of manner of some of the Bengali orators. To Babu Bhupendranath Bose was allotted the task of seconding a resolution on a subject which he must have made his own. His speech, temporarily, made a great effect on the minds of the delegates, but left on many of them the impression that the wrongs which he was denouncing in scathing language could not have been very great or persistent. The wrongs of deportation are crying wrongs, they cry for immediate redress. A great orator ought to have been able to cause the delegates to cry, to shed bitter tears. Some of the delegates were quite prepared and in a mood to cry if Babu Bhupendranath Bose had risen equal to the occasion. But besides a few silent tears which a few delegates shed over their coat sleeves, no one was greatly moved or agitated, and whatever impression his speech made soon passed away, and the speaker himself was seen soon after to be unaffected by his own words. Mr. Gokhale's speech was excellent in many respects, it was full of matter, it was logical, it was lawyer-like, or professorial, but it did not carry us off our feet. It lacked the magic charm of born orators. Many of the other speeches, it is to be regretted, lacked compression and information.

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I have been always under the impression that the Congress was an independent body of men, endeavouring for years to interpret the feelings, wishes, and aspirations of their countrymen to the rulers. This year, it seemed, the function of the Congress changed. It looked as if the leaders of the Congress met together to interpret

the wishes and feelings of the rulers to the mass of their countrymen. It is quite true that by dint of political education many of our rulers—many, if not most of the officials—have become “congressised.” It does not follow that the Congressists should be “officialised.” I cannot get rid of the impression that a good many of the delegates, and almost all their leaders, have been officialised. They have begun to talk and think in the language of officials. There is, therefore, the danger ahead of which it is desirable to take warning in time. The Congress will have abdicated its proper functions when it begins to interpret for the Government and not to the Government. Its usefulness in the past has been very great indeed. It has achieved splendid results in the past by continuing the line of action formulated by its great initiators. A departure from that line of action may entail unpleasant consequences. The Congress may cease to be an independent institution, and develop into an organ of the official classes. The official classes can, however, speak for themselves and with very great effect, but if the National Congress as an unofficial body is gone, who will speak for the people ?

P. J. PADSHAH.

Bombay.

DOROTHEA BEALE OF CHELTENHAM.

AS modern India takes a keen interest in the education and progress of women, the readers of *East & West* may perhaps like to give a little consideration to the life, character and work of the late Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College.

A recently published memoir of Miss Beale, written by Mrs. Raikes, under the title given at the head of this article, is a careful narrative of her life in her professional capacity. It supplies the *data* of this little review. We have further had the privilege of receiving personal reminiscences from one who knew Miss Beale intimately both as teacher and woman, and the recollections of ladies who, at one time or other, during Miss Beale's term of government, were students at the College. It is, perhaps, the sidelights that kindle life in a personality more than the full glow of a public representation. They fall on little intimate details not seen in a general survey, but which serve to transform a type of womanhood into an individual woman, a professional portrait into a living, breathing woman—so that we are very grateful for such help.

It is impossible to live in Oxford and not be reminded of Miss Beale's work and influence. St. Hilda's Hall is a witness to her power of developing her work and enlarging her borders, and the enduring effect of her example is recognised when we come in touch with any of her old pupils and associates. When we compare Cheltenham School in 1858, the year of Miss Beale's election as Lady Principal, as described by Mrs. Raikes, with the College in 1906, the year in which Miss Beale died, we perceive the greatness of her powers of organisation and development.

An estimate of her work, however, gauging it by outward signs, such as size and area of buildings, increase in number of pupils and other hard and fast facts, would be inadequate. Visible results may

be an eloquent testimony to the brain and intellect of an organiser, but the pervasive work of an influence, working so subtly as to be with difficulty traced to its source, is a more convincing witness than they of the force of character behind the organising power.

One who learned to know Miss Beale during twenty years of intercourse, first as student, and then as one of her teaching staff, writes: "To me, as I believe to an untold number of her pupils, she was, not so much the wonderful organiser nor the deep thinker as the beloved friend, who not only gave but welcomed sympathy ; the truest of friends because she 'believed in one's ideal self' and made one long to live up to it. She not only compelled one's reverent admiration, but called out and responded to one's grateful love."

The same friend remarks upon the contrast between the two sides of Miss Beale's nature, the "deep, thoughtful, mystic and original thinker," forming the one side, the "genial simple-minded, almost homely companion of daily life" the other. She adds: "But I ought not to speak of *two* sides of such a wonderfully complex personality."

Undoubtedly, there was a polarity in Miss Beale's influence, or, more strictly speaking, in the impression she made on those with whom she came in contact. If she did not attract, she repelled. Partly from absence of natural endowment, partly from a conscientious scruple about gaining any ascendancy over the minds of others, she had no magnetic charm about her personality.

Some thought her unsympathetic, says her friend, and admits that her sympathy was not always shown in the usual way, "but my experience is that it was deeper and more comprehending than that of almost any one I ever knew."

Before we dwell further upon her influence we had better glance at the events and circumstances of her own life in order to see how they helped to make her character influential.

Dorothea Beale was born in 1831. Thus her bringing-up belonged to a period regarded by those to whom the twentieth century is the golden age of civilisation, either with good-natured contempt or contemptuous tolerance, if they are amiable critics ; with scathing ridicule if they are severe judges. Alliteratively speaking, this period is in the eyes of the present generation an age of solidity,

stolidity and stupidity of a serious kind. Very good persons belonged to it, they admit, but these good persons were inevitably dull.

Dorothea Beale and her family could have laid claim to solidity of character and "parts" most decidedly. If stolidity is a synonym for dogged persistence, we must admit that Miss Beale could be stolid at times as well as solid. But however mistakenly she may have pursued a course, however impassive she may have seemed at times, she can never have been accused of stupidity, nor have taken refuge in the possession of it if she had wished to excuse herself thereby. Her ancestors and relatives were of unimpeachable respectability and solidity as regards social position, intellectual attainments and consistency of life. She herself was devoid of flimsiness in character and knowledge. There was an infusion of foreign blood in her near ancestry which often produces mental expansiveness and distinction in manners. The Beales were connected with the Hydes of legal fame, and Miss Beale's father—Miles Beale—had married a lady descended from a French Huguenot family.

Satirists of the early and mid-Victorian periods undeniably are justified in sharpening their weapons on the typical methods of teaching in use both at girls' schools and in their homes by private governesses. Yet it is not to be gainsaid that those periods were graced by women of wide culture, remarkable intellect and discriminating taste, whose wealth of knowledge was as thorough as it was varied. The reason seems to have been that the school curriculum was so limited that any girl of keen intellect and appetite for learning was forced to find out ways and means for herself to supplement the starvation diet provided for her. Out of the poverty of the mental provision for our grandmothers comes the wealth ready for the youth of to-day to use. For the effort and self-education of intellectual women in those arid fields of knowledge not only expanded their minds and developed their mental powers, but also stimulated them to prepare the ground and open out fresh paths for future generations. Elderly ladies may sigh over the lack of grace in carriage and gait of England's daughters to-day, and their lamentations ought to remind us that education should not lose sight of the body while training the mind, and that the schools and governesses we laugh at did a good work in teaching control of gestures and management of limbs. But when we have conceded this good point to the educators of girls in

Miss Beale's young days, we have given them all that seems justly due. What good was done to mind and character by schools whose aim was to be "select," to enable girls to "draw nicely," speak French and have easy manners in society? The "selectness" was ensured by terms prohibitive for any but daughters of well-to-do parents. The aristocracy of such schools was not that of character, or intellect, but of money, and should be spelled plutocracy.

One result of Miss Beale's personal experience at a school of this kind was to make her abhor the rule laid upon English girls at home to speak French. "Our thinking power was hindered from developing by intercourse with one another, because we were required to speak in a tongue in which we could indeed talk, but in which conversation was impossible, and the language we spoke was one peculiar to English boarding schools."

Her experience was cut short by ill-health. Her English school-days ended when she was thirteen. Two years later she went to a school in Paris kept by English ladies. There she felt the bonds of routine within the limits of a very narrow curriculum all the more galling by reason of the two years of self-education in which the vigour and energy of her nature had asserted themselves, while her assimilative powers had developed. During those two years of laborious holiday, Dorothea Beale's mind had come in contact with the great of the earth, measured by a literary standard, by her reading of books not found on the shelves in school-rooms of her day. History was one of her favourite studies, but theological and medical books were grist to her mill, and nothing worthy to be called literature in reviews, biographies, travels, came amiss to her. Logic and rhetoric were chosen studies, and her admiration of Pascal stimulated her to work her way unhelped through the first six books of Euclid and some way in Algebra. To turn from these mental athletics to a consideration of English history through the spectacles of Mrs. Trimmer and to the learning by heart of Murray's grammar was a curbing of force indeed. No wonder Miss Beale wrote that, "I felt oppressed with the routine life; I, who had been able to moon, grub, alone for hours, to live in a world of dreams and thoughts of my own, was now put into a cage and had to walk round and round like a squirrel. I felt thought was killed."

To every real thinker and worker no experience is barren of results. The work of character-building goes on steadily in any one who takes life earnestly and strenuously. Apparent stoppages in the work, or cessation of supply of materials, help forward the development. They give time to make observations, correct mistakes, forecast the future by consideration of the past. It is a proof of Dorothea Beale's early ripening of judgment that she could say, "I know now that the time (at the school in Paris) was well spent. The mechanical order, the system of the French school, was worth seeing, worth living in, only not for long."

And if we advance by means of others' methods that are behind the time, we learn much by means of our own mistakes. A strong active mind, such for instance as that of Dorothea Beale, will make greater headway during a time of enforced leisure and escape from others' direction in respect of study than in seasons of busy work under tutorial rule ; but, to speak paradoxically, more progress is made by "harking back" from a mistaken path and picking oneself up from a fall after taking an impossible fence than by an easy canter over a wide plain. It strengthens our mental vision and fibre to take bearings of the impassable region into which our thoughts have carried us in the hope of exploring it. It increases the knowledge of our limitations and powers, and true knowledge of ourselves is humility, the beginning of greatness. We may find the abilities we had thought to be our special attributes knocked to smithereens by our having attempted a mental feat outside our scope to achieve ; the discovery will prevent the almost fatal mishap of a mistaken vocation. We may feel rueful at the impossibility of grasping half the subjects we want to encompass and handle, but we have learned by this failure the important lesson of the necessity of selection. The all-important thing to possess ourselves of is the sense of proportion, the relative value of subjects in connexion with our own cast of mind and character. With this sense in fine order we shall know what to seek and what to avoid, what to drop as well as what to keep hold of. We learn much in this way while we are educating ourselves by ourselves, but we cannot master the art of selection except under wise, experienced direction. To speak more exactly, we learn by ourselves that there is much knowledge and many branches of study ungraspable by any single mind during an ordinary lifetime,

but we need somebody else to teach us what our own individual mind has no capacity for.

On the return of Dorothea to England, a girl of seventeen, her energies were directed to the work at home of teaching her younger sisters and superintending the preparation of her school-boy brothers' lessons. Next year the scope of her mental powers was enlarged. The year 1848 was the date of the foundation of Queen's College, London. The foundation was an epoch in Dorothea Beale's life and a sketch of the college may be of interest to Indian readers.

There existed in England at this time the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, the name of which explains itself. In 1843, the Reverend David Laing, a man of wide culture and practical wisdom, became secretary of this institution, and by virtue of his position learned not only the need for the help given, but the reason why the need existed. The incompetence of the teachers whom it was Mr. Laing's aim to relieve proved that they could not command payment for their services sufficient to keep them alive and well. Their incompetence was the result of deficient instruction; education they had scarcely had at all. One of the ways by which Mr. Laing tried to help these poor ladies was a registry to find situations. Would employers use a registry, he asked himself, if the teachers provided by it were incompetent? There must be a test of efficiency. The application of a test brought such ignorance to light that Mr. Laing's next effort was to provide instruction for the instructors, the would-be governesses. One of Queen Victoria's Maids of Honour happened to be trying to found a College for women at the time. As soon as she heard of Mr. Laing's scheme, she made over to him the money she had got together for her project, a house was taken in Harley Street, London, next to the Benevolent Institution, and Queen Victoria allowed it to be called by her name.

Mr. Laing next asked some of the Professors of King's College to come and lecture to the ladies at Queen's. But he did not limit the attendance at these lectures to governesses. He saw that a wider course of study, a sounder education, was needed by all women and girls, and he threw open the College doors to all who wished to avail themselves of the teaching provided. His opinions and enthusiasm were shared by Mr. Beale, Dorothea's father, and there is no need to say that Dorothea herself required no persuasion to attend the lectures.

She was present at the inaugural address given by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on March 29, 1848. We can imagine how eagerly she drank in every word, and it would seem that the glowing words helped to determine the course she took in life and influenced her to the very end.

Her vocation was revealed to her by this address, a vocation described by Mr. Maurice in the following words : "The vocation of a teacher is an awful one ; you cannot do her real good, she will do others unspeakable harm if she is not aware of its usefulness." He insisted that the first thing to teach those who essayed to be teachers was the greatness of their work. Education did not mean the teaching of a few accomplishments, but training immortal minds in the habits of thinking and modes of expressing their thoughts. Not fashion, not public opinion, but principle, should be the teacher's guide.

The infancy of the College had to weather through many attacks,—attacks, not of disease from within, but of hostility and misrepresentation from without. That it won through all and emerged into vigorous youth will not surprise English readers to whom the names of representative lecturers and examiners are familiar. The Rev. E. H. Plumptre, dear to lovers of Dante by reason of his love for the great Florentine and the translation of his *Commedia*, his whole being a-throb with poetry and enthusiasm as well as informed by scholarship; the Rev. F. D. Maurice, who seems to have carried a torch about with him to kindle a fire of zeal wherever he taught ; the Rev. R. C. Trench, whose knowledge of words and synonyms has helped many an Englishman to know his own language ; the Rev. Charles Kingsley, whose "Westward Ho !" has surely travelled Eastward and been appreciated by Indian readers ; Dr. Brewer and the musicians, Professors Hullah and Sterndale Bennett, make a strong staff list for any College.

Representative names on the list of students are an assurance that the teaching was assimilated in such a manner as to make for copious and far-reaching results. Among these first pupils were Miss Dorothea Beale, Miss Buss, Miss Jex-Blake, Elizabeth Gilchrist and Adelaide A. Procter.

Miss Beale greatly enjoyed the mathematical teaching received there. She had prepared the way to profit by it by her own unaided labour, and that she did profit by it quickly is shown by her being ap-

pointed the first lady mathematical tutor in 1849. Another thing she relished greatly was reading Greek with Dr. Plumtre. In 1854 he asked her to teach a junior Latin class. In that same year she was offered the post of head teacher of the school under Miss Parry.

Thus began Miss Beale's teaching career outside her own family, though she was not yet separated from her home life. Her response to the training she received was eager, vivid, sustained. She loved to grapple with difficulties and enjoyed all the experience she passed through in this time of preparation. Her comment on Professor Maurice's *viva voce* examination reveals herself as well as him.

"I remember to this day," she writes, "what a pleasant hour we had of *viva voce*; his wonderful power of intellectual sympathy came out and made us forget that we were being examined; he seemed to take pleasure in following up our thoughts on the bearings of the history we had read. So that it appeared we were holding a delightful conversation on the subject."

During the years spent at Queen's College, Miss Beale gained many diplomas and certificates. In her holidays spent abroad she took pleasure in examining the foreign methods and systems of teaching. She loved teaching and felt that her vocation was to teach; therefore, she neglected no opportunity of gaining experience, widening her knowledge and developing her powers.

In 1856 she came back from her summer holiday with eyes sharpened to see the need of changes in the management of Queen's College. Her resignation of her post on the staff followed quickly on this perception, and she accepted soon afterwards the head teachership in the Clergy Daughters' School at Casterton, in Yorkshire. This necessitated her leaving home and going into a locality unknown to her. It also removed her from congenial friends and access to books, and she was no longer encouraged by the sense of being understood and of her work being appreciated.

Casterton is familiar to all who have steeped themselves in Brontë literature. Had Miss Beale written a novel and interwoven her Casterton experiences into the plot of it, the school would not have given such a gruesome impression as we receive of it in the pages of *Jane Eyre*, but the remembrance of it cannot have supplied a bower for her memory to linger in delightedly. She was expected to teach too many subjects for her work to be as thorough as she liked it to

be. She was overstrained and overworked— the religious atmosphere was uncongenial and religion was the one thing needful to Dorothea Beale in youth as in old age. In spite of drawbacks and hindrances, however, she made her mark at Casterton by the accuracy of her knowledge of the subjects she taught and by her inspiring methods of teaching. The triumph was the greater because her excellence was admitted unwillingly. Her religious opinions, her habits of thought and procedure, were displeasing to the ruling powers of the school, and she, on her side, could not hide her disapproval of the tone and methods of the teaching. Her resignation, which she decided upon after one or two interviews with the committee, was forestalled by the Chairman releasing her from her connection with the school. Mr. Plumptre wrote at once from Queen's College to assure her that should she wish to take up a position on the staff there, she might step into the first vacancy that occurred, but she felt that the time had come for a pause in her life in which she might weigh claims and consider what direction her future course should take. She decided after careful deliberation that teaching, especially the training of girls of her own class, was indeed her vocation, and in 1858, on the resignation of the lady Principal of Cheltenham College, Miss Beale sent in her testimonials as an applicant for the post, and in June of that year was elected to fill it. A little opposition was raised to her election on the ground of her Church views being "extreme," but she satisfied the governing body on that point and took up her residence in Cambray House.

Here was scope for Miss Beale's powers of organisation and re-organisation. She soon initiated changes in the curriculum of study, substituting German for Latin, separate music lessons for class lessons, and putting the study of English history in a place of honour. There was a good deal to depress even an ardent and hopeful temperament during the first two years of the new Principal's government. The effect of her management during that time may be compared to the gradual sinking of the light of a candle after it has been lighted until it has reached the point at which the flame leaps up vigorously. Diminution of the College's balance at the bank kept pace with decrease in the number of pupils, and when the lease of Cambray House expired in 1860, the responsibility of renewing it was shrunk from.

It was admitted that Miss Beale had improved the discipline of the school and introduced salutary changes, but reformation was not appreciated. It was this indifference to ideals that depressed Miss Beale, more than shortness of funds. The excellence of her scheme of education and of her own teaching was not disputed ; the deadening fact was that such excellence was not wanted. There was a strong, if silent, protest against Miss Beale's reforms ; the silence said, "Our girls have not to earn their living by teaching, why then this fuss about thoroughness ?"

The candle, however, was only *curtseying*, while gathering material to feed its light. At the moment when extinction seemed imminent, an enthusiast in the cause of education, Mr. Houghton Braucker, became auditor of the school accounts. By his advice the house was taken on yearly tenancy terms, the lease was not renewed ; the school fees were lowered, but drawing and music were made extras.

An immediate increase in the number of pupils testified to the soundness of the auditor's advice. Three years after his alterations had been made, Mr. Braucker wrote :

"We promised assets over £1,000, they are £1,076. We promised a money balance of £200, it is £356. So I think the shareholders may have confidence in their Chancellor of the Exchequer. We may well be proud of the result, but we are *deeply* indebted to Miss Beale's exertions for it."

Next year 130 pupils filled the College. A boarding house was opened for girls whose parents were leaving Cheltenham, and changes were made in the arrangement of lessons which excited opposition. The Council met the storm by a compromise. Two months should be the limit of the experiment, if it were proved unsalutary during that time, the old state of things should be reverted to. At the end of the probation only eight persons voted against the continuance of the new plan.

The College benefited greatly by the co-operation of Miss Beale and Mr. Braucker. Miss Beale could not have achieved her intellectual reforms without Mr. Braucker to back her up. Mr. Braucker's generosity in time, skilled advice and financial ability worked with double efficiency under Miss Beale's direction.

One of the changes wrought was the replacement by University

LIPTON'S LEAFLETS.

No. 11.

(Continued from last month.)

THE HEART OF AN EMPIRE.

While in this tea-packing room we may pause for a moment to notice the picturesque head-gear of the girls who are at work in it. It is a flat round cap, suggesting those worn by the Florentine nobles in early Italian pictures. It is primarily intended, I suppose, to protect the hair from the tea-dust with which the atmosphere is inevitably impregnated; secondarily, it adds an extremely picturesque, almost medieval, note to the picture. While I think of it, I may note down the prevalence, throughout the various departments of the buildings, of the characteristic odours of the various articles dealt with. Tea, coffee, cocoa, each of them tinctures the whole atmosphere of its especial floor or building—and I doubt if one has ever realised the "aromatic" quality of which we hear so much in this connection, until one has had the opportunity of passing through a room in which great masses are being roasted or warehoused. That, cleanliness, order triumphing over chaos, with, amid all the deep vibrating hum of the omnipresent machinery, are, I suppose, the dominant keys in the recollections that linger in the mind after a visit to Lipton's headquarters.

SWEETNESS AND LIGHT.

Another fascinating machine is that in which chocolate creams are made. It may never have occurred to most people to wonder how the cream gets inside the chocolate, unless, indeed, they are gifted with that same spirit of inquiry which made George III. investigate the mystery of how the apple gets inside the dumpling without any visible seam. But here, at Lipton's, the mystery—of the chocolate creams, I mean, not of the dumplings—explains itself. It is another instance of the triumph of the machine. Only a short time back the cream had to be coated with the chocolate by hand—coated, that is to say, imperfectly. But that is all changed now, thanks—I was in some way sorry to hear—to the

ingenuity, not of a British, but of a French inventor. The cream cores, having been elsewhere perfected, are placed in orderly battalions upon a long wire-screen, almost like a "gauze" window blind, though of a very much larger mesh. This passes slowly through the vitals of the machine, beneath a slowly-falling wave of chocolate, which comes oozing down from above, with silky dignity, and surrounds the cream with a regular layer of chocolate, the superfluity passing down through the meshes of the wire-screen. This, passing onward, emerges from the other side of the machine, with its burden of perfect chocolate creams, which need now only to be placed in a refrigerator to harden into the perfected article.

I am not sure, by the way, whether the confectionery-making department of Lipton's is not the most fascinating of any—it depends, I suppose, upon the age of the visitor. Certainly if the good American goes to Paris when he dies I should think the good child would find its Heaven here in the City-road. There was one room in which was a pile—a veritable mountain of mixed sweets, just made, waiting to be packed. I should think it must have been 6 ft. high from the trough in which it stood, and its base was perhaps 10 ft. in diameter. Were I a benevolent millionaire, or even a benevolent "man of moderate means"—for these sweets, pure and delicious though they are, as I can testify from personal experience, are sold at the same low prices that prevail throughout Lipton's every department—I cannot imagine a more delightful spectacle than to introduce all the available children from one of the big council schools to that scintillating mountain of delight, and, at an appointed word, let them free to fall upon it. What a clamorous ant-hill of enraptured juvenility it would become in a moment! But I suppose the suggestion would be pounced upon by "parents and guardians," not as leading to injure those happy children's stomachs—for there is no fear of that with such pure and wholesome sweets as these, but as militating against self denial, self-restraint, and who shall say what other moral bogeys.

Reprint from "TRUTH." October 2nd, 1907

(To be continued in next issue.)

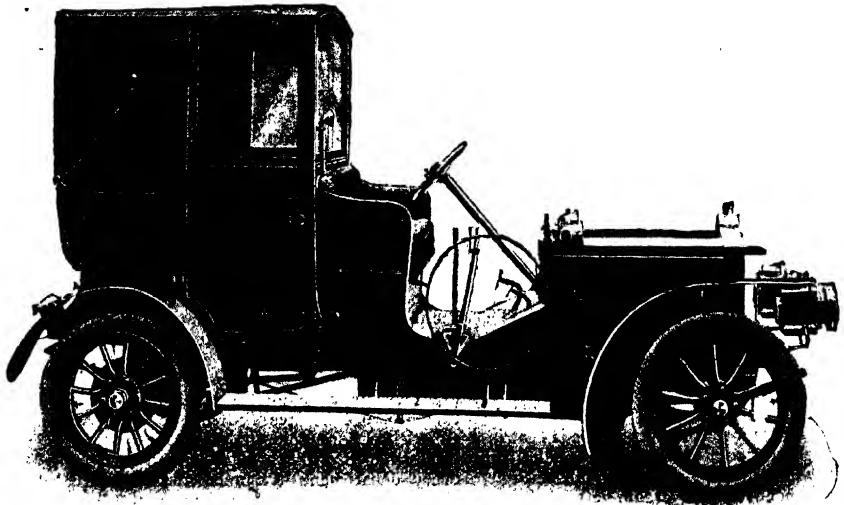
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Examiners of men without scholarly or literary distinction. It is worthy of record that Mr. Dodgson of Christ Church, Oxford, "Lewis Carroll" of "Alice-in-Wonderland" fame, became mathematical examiner when Miss Beale got her way for the teaching of advanced Arithmetic and Euclid.

In 1863, a red letter year as regards the success of College affairs, Miss Beale published her Chart, a highway of Chronology. It drew from the founder of Church of England High Schools the cry : "Why was I born before such aids were given to understanding ?"

The period which crowned her first efforts towards progress must have been one of the happiest times in Miss Beale's life. By teaching many subjects herself in small classes, she came in close personal touch with her pupils in a way and by means which made that touch influential to a remarkable degree.

She was an enthusiast and felt the glow caused by the exercise of faculties which distinguished her from ordinary women, and, though she repudiated anything like domination of others' intelligence, she must have felt the encouragement given by response to her teaching.

An old pupil writes that Miss Beale's scripture and literature lessons revealed Miss Beale's personality to her more than anything else, for she did not know her out of school. This lady describes Miss Beale's language as finely chosen and her lectures delivered vivaciously. In her Scripture lessons she liked to point out the connection between Nature and Religion. Our correspondent feels sure that the history of Creation must have been peculiarly interesting to Miss Beale.

The friend whom we quoted at the beginning of this article says, that her experience of Miss Beale's scripture lessons is that "they were more illuminating and practically helpful than any religious teaching" she had ever had. She thinks that the most careless of listeners must have been impressed by the "reverence and compelling earnestness" with which the lecturer spoke.

Another old student bears witness to the clarity of Miss Beale's style and her power of rivetting attention. She, coming straight from a home governess' individual attention, felt dismay at having to depend on notes taken by herself of the Principal's lectures, but she found Miss Beale's vivacity and fine delivery made note-taking

easy. She dates her appreciation of good lectures from the impetus given by Miss Beale's inspiring and informing mode of teaching. One letter sent to us tells of special enjoyment of Miss Beale's lectures on Chaucer and Spenser's *Faerie Queen*.

The published memoir of Miss Beale, superficially read, gives an impression of her deficiency in humour. Her sense of humour seems to have been held in check, so that it was seldom conspicuous, and probably it was balanced—perhaps outweighed—by her sense of the seriousness of life, but she was not devoid of it. She could never have been bubbling over with mirth, but she kept a little pinch of fun somewhere with which to salt her remarks sometimes. "Broken figures" in her pupils' essays provoked a little sprinkling of humour sometimes, and we can hear the *transparent* gravity smothering the laugh when she read aloud such a figure as "a flickering flame that paved the way," or when she capped an absurdly inverted clause by quoting the epitaph described as "written by a young poet now lying in his grave for his own amusement." Indubitably she possessed also the sword of sarcasm, but probably only incorrigible prigs and bumptious persons felt the keen edge of it. She was always glad to come across originality however clumsily expressed, and gave it generous recognition: "You thought of that yourself," she would say to the writer of the essay; "it had not occurred to me, but probably you are right."

Miss Beale's aim in teaching was to excite hunger and thirst for knowledge rather than to pour in information. She recognised the fact borne in upon every genuine teacher that, given the appetite, food will be acquired somehow, and the hunter enjoys the game he procures himself more than the full-fed person relishes the dainties brought to him unasked-for. Both in mathematics and literature Miss Beale would so present her subjects to her students as to induce their minds to work upon them forthwith. Her lectures were of wider scope and higher character than those which are necessary to prepare candidates for examination. History was one of her favourite subjects, and she insisted on the importance of a study of general history, so as to ensure the history of any one nation not being cut off from the current of events running through the history of all peoples of the world. Literature gave a fine field for the exercise of her methods and the expression of her thoughts. "She sought to interest

her class in books, in reading, in noble thoughts, in fine prose and poetry. She sought to give views of life, conduct and character such as would enable her hearers to go from school into a larger world, already prepared to know what to find." It is the opinion of the friend whom we have often quoted that Miss Beale revealed herself more in her informal talks about books with her girls than in any other way. Her lessons gave her opportunities for suggesting books, ways of spending time and money, and so forth. She had a fine, flexible voice, and her reading aloud must have been a pleasure to listen to. She had a strong dramatic instinct, an accurate knowledge of words and a sufficiency of the genius of a poet to appreciate poetry. She loved Shakespeare, Spenser and Chaucer and admired Browning profoundly.

The ample current of her life's work was not fed only by the smooth tributaries of success, encouragement, and fuller or more unrestrained admiration for her peculiar gifts. Bitter waters flowed into it, and Miss Beale was extremely sensitive to some kinds of gall and wormwood. Slander, for instance, was especially distasteful to her. She hated gossip. She acknowledged that opposition and persecution may "prove an excellent tonic, and personally I feel grateful for it, though it was a bitter draught."

The obvious good that came from this "tonic" in the early years of Miss Beale's reign was that she learned by it the extent and limits of her independence of the council, and also that she gained more power in the administration of affairs. At this time it would seem that Miss Beale's powers were concentrated so entirely upon her work that there was a danger of narrowness and rigidity.

Social amenities were not second nature to her. Her religious opinions, her disinclination for non-intellectual pleasures, her deep reserve militated against popularity, and popularity was despised by her. She was too noble a woman to condescend to public opinion. She only suffered disappointment when her work had to bear loss or hindrance. A note of warning is struck in a letter written to her by her father at the time of the thickest of the fray. "You always write as if you were at the top of your speed, and this is not good." Mr. Beale went on to say that what she gained in speed she lost in power, and that to neglect the care of her health was the worst economy in the world.

In spite, however, of opposition from others and mistakes made by herself, Miss Beale had gained a recognised position in the educational world when the Endowed Schools' Enquiry Commission was held in 1864, for she was one of the chosen speakers at it.

The object of the Commission was to examine into the existing state of education above the elementary grade, and to report on measures to be taken for its improvement. Miss Beale gladly made use of the opportunity to bring needs and inefficiencies to public notice. She sought permission to compile the matter for debate in a book, and she wrote articles on the subject for magazines in order to rub the matter well into the public mind. She insisted on Education being rightly defined as "intellectual, moral and physical development, the development of a sound mind in a sound body, the training of reason to form just judgments, the disciplining of the will and affections to obey the supreme law of duty, the kindling and strengthening of the love of knowledge, of beauty, of goodness, till they become governing motives of action."

The result of the publication of the evidence before the Committee, after some intermediate processes, was the formation in 1868 of the Girls' Public Day School Company, by means of which high schools were established in the chief towns of England.

Girton, the first women's college at a university, was founded in 1873. Examinations for women instituted by the Universities followed. Miss Beale was not in favour of these examinations, but she allowed them when she found that progress in methods of education called for them. To any one familiar with the requirements of London University the fact that disappointment held quite as large a part as hope in the minds of the first brave candidates for a pass at the London examiners' hands will be no surprise. Miss Beale was not one who cried for mercy. She held that the ground is won by failure. She bore criticism as calmly as opposition, but she was vehement in upholding the statement that intellectual training did not unfit women for domestic duties. In her own college she was gradually gaining more leisure and independence by the acquisition of a larger, more efficient staff, and by the growing respect won by her character. The sphere of influence was enlarged year by year and term by term.

The new school building, begun in 1872, was opened the next

year, enlarged in 1875, and added to in 1882 by the building of art and music wings. In the space of seven years the number of pupils was doubled. External enlargement and internal development meant Miss Beale's steady conquest of difficulties. She felt that she, who knew better than anyone else the work done in class rooms and halls, should have the chief voice in the arrangement of the building and choice of furniture. She knew that a large school meant, or ought to mean, a wider outlook, and that, to insure broader views, the members of the Council should be persons of large intellectual capacity interested in the town and school. She insisted on the right of the Principal to claim power to select, appoint and dismiss the members of the staff. Yet she was sufficiently balanced to see that "the authority of an irresponsible Principal must be checked in *some way*"—to use her own words.

She won the day. At a General Committee meeting in 1875 the relative powers of proprietors, Council and Principal were more clearly defined, and the number of the governing body increased. Next arose hampering difficulties with boarding houses. Miss Beale accepted boarding houses as a necessary part of the organism of the college and laboured for their reform instead of advising their abolition. Increase in the number of those houses meant not only pecuniary gain to the college but opportunities for helping poor students and training teachers.

Here we may allude to Miss Beale's views of helping others. She believed in helping them to help themselves. She would help a needy student by lending money, requiring payment of her loan in due time. That she carried out her theory generously, using large sums probably in secret gifts as well as acknowledged loans, is known by her intimate friends, but she was severe in her deprecation of anything that tended to weaken a person's independence, and exact in her requirement of repayment of money lent by her.

A small house was opened by a lady for needy students training as teachers, and after this lady's death, Miss Beale asked the Council for funds to carry on the work solely begun by private means. With the money granted for the purpose St. Hilda's College, Cheltenham, was built.

Besides the extension of her influence by means of the growth of the College, Miss Beale found a wider scope for it through the

publication of the College Magazine in 1880. She continued to edit it until her death in 1906. Her aim was to make the magazine a vehicle for the interchange of thought between present and past members of the College. Reviews of books formed one feature, so did articles reprinted from other magazines written by Miss Beale. Letters from men of various opinions and schools of thought appeared from time to time in the Editor's box. Among these correspondents we may single out Brooke Foss Westcott, late Bishop of Durham, and John Ruskin.

Mr. Ruskin took great interest in the wings for Music and Painting added to the College and in the gift of an organ by old pupils. In 1883, the bond between the school of the present and the past was strengthened by the formation of the Guild of Old Scholars. In her first address to this Guild, Miss Beale spoke of the power there is in a beautiful life to bless ; of the duty laid upon every one of continuing his or her education through life. The worst thing we can do, she reminded her hearers, is to bury a talent.

Three years after this Guild was formed it was thought that a corporate work undertaken by the members would weld them more closely together. The work chosen was a settlement in East London. This was not Miss Beale's choice, for she shrank from work done for the poor, holding fast by her conviction that the best help we can give people is to train them to do without assistance. Her biographer says that she could bear to see people suffering from hunger and nakedness far more easily than from lack of will-power and sense of responsibility. But she was not the woman to withhold her sympathy from any good work because it was not of a kind that appealed to her. To the settlement finally established at Shoreditch Miss Beale gave the name of her favourite Saint—Hilda. As we have seen, she gave that name to the training school for teachers at Cheltenham, and in 1887 she turned her thoughts to a scheme she had been meditating for some time to open a house at Oxford where students, ripe for the advantage, might have university training. This house was opened by Dr. Stubbs, the then Bishop of Oxford, in November 1893. In 1900, Miss Beale connected St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford, with St. Hilda's College, Cheltenham, by presenting it to the Association of the College.

In addition to these extensions a Kindergarten was set *growing*.

It was planted first in Miss Beale's drawing-room, but soon that proved too strait a place, and the rooms in which it was transplanted had to be enlarged from time to time.

India may like to know that Miss Beale became keenly interested in Hindu religion and philosophy. A warm friendship sprang up between her and Pundita Ramabai who went to study at the College in 1883, and Ramabai wrote on hearing of Miss Beale's death : " Her love and influence, her words of encouragement and her prayers on my behalf, have helped me much in my life and work."

As time passed on, the risk Miss Beale had seemed to run in her comparative youth of becoming narrowed down to her work grew less and less. She never let any interest outside her own particular sphere, however, take other than a subordinate place in her mind, and to the day of her death her own special work and ideas formed the centre round which other interests, English and foreign, circled in relative order.

But she grew wider and more pliant in many respects as she grew older, and seems to have allowed more play to her feelings and sense of humour. Perhaps, too, as fame extended itself and honours came thickly in, she became, if possible, simpler and more unbending in manner.

From very early days Miss Beale took interest in foreign methods of education and foreign students were always welcomed at Cheltenham. Educationists from various countries made pilgrimages to the College, and Miss Beale attended the meetings of the International Congresses of Education at Paris and elsewhere. In 1889 she was made *Officier d'Académie*. In 1846 Durham University conferred on her the dignity of Tutor in Letters and in 1902 Edinburgh offered her the degree of LL.D. Her academic robes, made as beautiful and costly as possible, were presented to her by her own staff.

She seems to have borne her years as easily and gracefully as her honours. The winter of old age brought no withering frosts to chill the activity of her brain or cloud her mental sight. The close of her life was a prolonged autumn of fruition and gradual mellowing. It is true she grew deaf and was obliged to remember that her health was something to be studied and protected, but her enjoyment of her summer holidays seemed to be as real in old age as in middle life although of a different kind. One of the sidelights thrown upon her

brings her before us during a holiday in 1886, spent in Wales. "She was very genial and pleasant, full of life and spirit. She took a good deal of exercise and even did a little mountaineering. She composed a humorous poem after we had been over a slate mine, and made remarks on an 'affectionate pig' met in one of our rambles."

Another light is cast on perhaps Miss Beale's last foreign sojourn by her companion who was suffering from illness. "She used to come and sit by my bed and tell me reminiscences about early difficulties overcome, economies to make ends meet in the College expenditure, &c. What struck me most was the positive *radiance* of her face every morning when she came out of her room, and also her evenness of temper." In the letter from which the above is quoted Miss Beale's power of bearing pain is spoken of as simply superhuman. "She seemed to rise above it mentally."

The end came after three weeks' withdrawal from her work. By her own request the students were not told the reason of her withdrawal to rest, as she expressed it. After undergoing an operation successfully, the heart that had done noble strenuous work failed, and she sank after "no long waiting in suffering or helplessness, but to go home straight from her work with her splendid powers scarcely impaired." We quote the words of the Vice-Principal of Cheltenham College when she broke the news to the students that she, who had spent the greater part of her life in training others, had been called out of the training school of this life into the freedom and leisure of the world outside our senses' range.

FIREFLY SKETCHES.

WHEN the deathlike grip, or the sullen dejection, of the long months of winter is broken, and the green fire of spring, blown over the living earth, has left it covered with verdure, and sweetly gay with flowers, then the townsfolk, definitely leaving the shelter of roof and room, come for their hours of recreation and of leisure to the streets transformed from mere rugged highways cut through canyons of brick and stone and mortar to the likeness of leafy groves, lined with the grey trunks of living trees, and with tiny squares of emerald turf, or to verandahs screened by clustering vines of honeysuckle, hop, Virginia creeper or clematis. All through the big villages and little towns and clustered suburbs of great cities the evenings glow warm and friendly in their blue twilights; from the family groups strolling through the streets or clustered round the doorways there rises a humming sound as of bees about the hive of a summer day. The violet air is full of the perfume of budded leaves and early flowers, and it is then, against the dusky masses of the still trees, against the sapphire of the warm sky, close to the earth yet damp with the last chill tears of winter, that first begin to float the tiny globes of the Firefly, soaring, dipping, vanishing, lost and gone, glowing and gleaming, a light out of the dust, a worm having kinship with the stars even as man has.

And as the wandering lamps throw their light first on one spot and then on another, as they illumine for the space of a heartbeat the soft darkness that wraps the vagrant heads of white and purple clover nodding beside the dust of the highway, or that dim blue which holds the evening star, wafted low before the feet of the passer-by, or high above his head, so these few scattered notes of the American life of to-day are designed to glimmer faintly, spasmodically, weakly, as must of necessity be, on the enveloping darkness which to a stranger people wraps the life of any foreign country.

As the train rolled smoothly along through the green land, some one wished to know if the boundary line had been passed. It has said one, by the look of the farms, so neat, so comfortable of aspect in their white-painted, green-shuttered trimness, a few flowers in the dooryards, and the machinery carefully housed in the great barns. It has, said another, for in that little town which we left behind did you not see an ample building lettered VILLAGE HALL, and a little park having careful flower-beds and a bandstand.

Already the parlor car feels the atmosphere of unaffected simple friendliness which, outside the inevitable sophistication of New York and other great cities, still marks the public intercourse of America. Little intimacies begin, little courtesies are exchanged, the frail butterflies of the kingdom of friendship flutter their ephemeral wings in the brief but kindly day. Each several group with pleasant alacrity assumes the duty of amusing the restless baby, who makes his uncertain pilgrimage up and down the aisle twenty times in the hour; almost every passenger has caught him from a fall, won his ready confidence, and helped his tired mother to snatches of repose.

Hills begin to gather in the landscape, outlying spurs of the White Mountains wrapped in veils of blue and purple gauze, then crowding nearer until they fill the landscape and the gleaming ribbon of track lies across their green shoulders. Higher and higher it climbs overlooking the tree-filled gorges and the hurrying brooks which run shouting into the depths between the mantling green, hastening away from the screaming monster which is like and yet unlike the elemental forces around. Lakes, woods, gorges, streams, objective fairy tales of the great Mother, unroll before the view only to be snatched away before the eye is satisfied with seeing; the deciduous trees mixed among the pines have not lost the magic hues of spring; the line of the swirling brooks is pranked with golden buttercups and uncurling fronds of fern. As the hills diminish and the woods grow thinner here and there stands a solitary perfect tree, a young birch graceful as a fleeing nymph, a young maple which when autumn touches its foliage will seem to be a golden goblet shaped to contain the wine of life. In these green tents the traveller may not stay, their secret is not given to hurrying feet, yet the magic of their form and colour in the mystic dance of the seasons will be to one here and there as a permanent possession, the mystery gold of the heart.

The hills sink back into the past and long spaces of level green succeed, dotted sparsely with thrifty farms, or the little self-centered

towns of Vermont and New Hampshire. Here are great pastures of the wind, here is space for much humanity; those who cry that the earth is overfilled, who lament the congestion of the great cities, and deplore the fate of the millions to be, have they sufficiently considered the pleasant waste places of the earth, the playgrounds of the sun and air, which all over this great Continent await in silence and humbleness the cherishing hand of man, wait for man to lay aside the primitive methods and aims of the savage and the brute, to cease from war and pillage, to beat his swords to ploughshares, and to return his genius to the redemption of the earth where is his heritage, his sorrow and his reward?

The train stops for reasons unknown among green slopes where nestles a little solitary house, a mere cot within the wild, but neighboured by a sweetly blooming fence of purple lilacs, and shortly after enters the conductor, his arms loaded with the fragrant blossoms which he proceeds to distribute impartially amongst the dusty, wearied passengers, who receive them with delight and inhale rapturously the cool delicate fragrance so refreshing on this warm June day.

The men who talked of deals and prices this morning are talking of parties and politics this afternoon; the women who discussed household cares this morning are comparing theories of education this afternoon. The train rolls on its smooth way through a small neat town whose centre is a pretty square laid out with bright beds of flowers and encircled with shade trees. "That's the work of the women," explains the man who got in at the last stop to the travelling man from Chicago, "there wasn't a town in the State with dirtier, worse-kept streets than L.; everybody always grumbling about it, and nobody doing anything, till the women took hold, and made things move. They've bought up a piece of land on the hill too, in reserve for a public park and breathing-space as the town grows, and now they're going to establish an emergency hospital."

"Things have got to move when the women say so," agreed his companion comfortably, "and don't you forget it."

Both speak as they would say, "good United States," but their accent puts a thousand miles and more between their homes, stamps them east and west as directly as the label on the suit cases.

Of all the languages spoken of men none surely has as many varieties, none comprises so many distinct dialects as does "Shakespeare's English." From the Hebrides to Hong-Kong the traveller hears it spoken, and broken, in a hundred forms in response to the needs and attainments and temperaments of the peoples; every young offshoot of the Anglo-Saxon

race moulds the language differently to suit its own uses and idiosyncrasies, even as the English peasantry did in the olden days when Yorkshire could barely converse with Somerset, or Kent with him "of the Shires." Shattered into "pidgin English" in the streets of Canton, dignified into poetry in the Highlands of Scotland, softened and made tenderly humorous in Cork, distorted and blurred with uncouth vowel sounds in Lancashire or the Midlands, debased into hopeless squalor and irredeemable vulgarity in Stepney or Camden Town, transformed in Oxford or Bayswater to be the absolute vehicle of class privilege, conveying in its very sound the ineffable self-confidence and self-admiration of the English governing classes, so impressed with class feeling that it has come to be the universally recognised hall-mark designating an accurately to be catalogued, and seldom varied combination of qualities; full of unknown words, the expression of new needs in Australia; in French-Canada the child of a mixed marriage, with Indian and 16th century French parentage; in the Southern States of America softly slow and sweet, imbued with the gentle sounds of the mellow negro voices; loud in the breezy West; plain and vigorous in new England; throughout the United States retaining a few words of force and nervous energy, such as "gotten," "I guess," "I reckon," which, despised and considered obsolete by Englishmen, are yet relics of the best time of English speech. Everywhere Proteus-like, high-toned, or flattened into tonelessness, pedantic, precise or poverty-stricken, arrogant, guttural, dental, sing-song, brusque, commercial, soft as the airs of a Carolina spring, or smart as a street boy's jargon, marching to elemental music in poetry or prose, wallowing in the gutter with destitution and crime, shearing the sheep, hunting the moose, herding the ostrich, punching the steer, tracking the whale, exploring Polar Seas, digging Alaskan gold, storming fastnesses of Tibet, tracking bear and wolf, shut in the laboratory, or the machine-shop, or the holds of ships, out in the great deserts or adrift on open seas—everywhere the English speech has gone out and possessed the earth.

Here in America the quality in the speech of the people which most impresses a thoughtful stranger is its assurance, its confidence, the crispness of its faith in destiny. This quality is not to be defined as optimism exactly, though it is undoubtedly optimistic, but still more a buoyant sense of personal and national efficiency, born no doubt partly of climatic and geographical conditions, of stimulating air, constant sunshine, brilliant skies, the resources of boundless natural wealth, the vastness of the land, the sense of youth, a youth hardly clouded save by one dark page, with hardly a lurid recollection of struggle except the initial struggle with the

forces of Nature, with no blur of past centuries of feudalism, wrong, oppression, cruelty, bloodshed and hopeless revolt, stamped on the national consciousness, and misnamed Glory.

Whether nasal as in New York, high-keyed as in Chicago, soft and slow in Richmond, refined and clear in Boston, wherever and whenever you hear an American voice, it carries with it this national spirit of a sanguine virility, a faith in life and the future, an active sense of individual responsibility, the implication, if unconscious yet all-pervading, of the potency of the human will, and the call to human action. Things are not right? Then they must be made right—is the quality of mind which underlies the quality of the American voice.

Even the slang of the streets is pithy, direct, expressive, possessing the national gift of going right to the heart of a thing, of embodying in a quick phrase the salient characteristics of a person or of a situation. How much more expressive of courage and dogged determination is the Yankee "grit" than its English cousin "pluck," even as the unlovely quality of aggression, presumption, is better conveyed in New York by "gall," or "nerve," than it is in London by "cheek." How exactly is the mental attitude of the inquisitive, the busybody, described by the popular slang "rubberneck," with its correlated verb "to rubber." The English purist is shocked by the vulgarity of the term, but is not the quality sought to be described also distinguished by vulgarity?

This sense of the buoyancy of life, the national assertion of man's right to mould things to his use rather than to be moulded by them, is attractive or repugnant to the stranger according to his temperament and mobility of mind, his power of widening his horizon to take in new points of view. He will almost certainly begin by being impressed with the feeling that the American is materialistic in his sense of the desirability of all good things, their necessity for him and his. "There's nothing too good for my wife, my child, my home," is a proverbial expression of American life. But it was not an American who first looked at the world and called it "very good." The expression of the wider consciousness of the race, the "cosmic consciousness" which was embodied in America's characteristic poet, he who sang tirelessly of the joys of life, yet saw all life meant for the uses of the soul, and all the materials of life as suited for the uses of immortality, is not that destined to be in its flower the consciousness of joy?

The saving soul of American materialism is the sense that all good things are the inalienable right of all men, that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" inevitably conjugates itself in all the other persons

as well as the first. . . . Towns have grown thicker together now, there is more coming and going, the car is crowded. Some time ago there came in a youngish man with his little daughter and his wife or sister; the child, daintily clad and cared for, carried a box of candy which she presently offered to her companions and then would have eaten of herself, had not her father previously sent her across the aisle to press a generous offering on the acceptance of a lonely seeming and poor little traveller about her own age. As the gift was made and accepted, he said, half apologetically, to his companion, "I can't bear to see one child eating candy, and another looking on."

It was one of the little parables of which the common ways of men are full. . . .

As the long train pulls slowly into the station in the soft darkness of the summer evening, sprinkled through with the gleaming gold and purple and blue of man's stars—the electric lights—as the traveller comes from the bustling station into the streets, and climbs the long steps to the elevated railroad, where high up in air the swift crowded trains roll ceaselessly in and out with clanging of gongs, and hurrying of anxious feet, each car filling and emptying with the precision of machinery, each momentary delay chidden by the voice of the conductor, "Move quickly! Step lively! All aboard"—it is this sense of universal alertness, of capacity to meet the demands of the moment, along with something of the old New England contempt for "shiftlessness," for incompetency of any sort, which most impresses itself on the mind of the traveller. Expressed in the movements of the people it is also present in their dress, the almost universal trimness and, one might almost say, elegance of the women, the wellfittedness and neatness of the men; here are no silk hats or evening dress, but the ordinary costume of the streets, well chosen, well cut and well worn. And occasionally, sharing the same seat with the alert business men, with the bright fashion of the women, one perceives a fragment, as it were, broken off and dropped from another civilization, an Italian or a Polack peasant woman, a handkerchief tied over her grizzled hair, a basket at her feet; seamed and bent and leathered with hard physical toil and with the tyranny of the elements, oddly out of place and yet at home, she too bears silent testimony to the spirit of American democracy. Down there in the North End—or in Hester Street, or the Bowery—in the foreign quarter of whatever American city in which she, a bit of flotsam on the tides of life, may have found an anchorage, her children or her grandchildren are trotting cheerfully morning by morning to the public school, learning first that learning is not optional, nor a luxury for the rich, but

is indeed as free as the air in the lungs, and well-nigh as compulsory, learning to speak, then to read and write the tongue of this strange new world, learning the use of soap and water, and the elementary rules of hygiene, learning also each morning to "Salute the Flag," joining their stammering voices in the difficult English words, "I pledge allegiance to my Flag, and the Country for which it stands: one nation indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all."

(To be continued)

KATHERINE WELLER.

Canada.

THE GREAT BLIZZARD.

29TH DECEMBER 1908.

This morning it is snowing—snowing hard.

The white snow is being driven furiously by the tormenting winds.

It is being whirled into intoxication by the wild mad winds.

And see ! The streets of our City are foul.

Yet the pure white snow falls. It is overcome upon the shameless foul streets.

But it snows still. And it will snow until the streets are whitened and the cruel winds forbear and the Night falls.

Then the City will be White !

It will no longer be a City full of noise. It will be a City full of Silence. And in the Silence of the Night the Stars will contend to crown the dear old City, the old dirty City, the City of Dawns and Dreams, the dear white City of London.

F. W. GROVES CAMPBELL.

London.

THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE.

THE religion of science must be the best solution of the riddle of the Universe—a problem that every thinking man must attempt to answer.

An adequate knowledge of the Universe is the aim of the highest scientific thought. The several sciences deal with particular parts of the Universe, while philosophy, or the science of sciences, gives a comprehensive conception of it.

All the phenomena of the Universe are ultimately resolvable into the two great factors of matter and energy.

Matter and energy are inseparable. There is no matter in which some energy is not working, and no energy which is able to work except in some form of matter.

Matter and energy are indestructible. They are ever changing their form, yet themselves never destroyed. For instance, if a piece of wood is burnt, the form is gone and a superficial observer might think that the quantity of matter had been made less, but a student of science would know that if the products of combustion, the ash that was left, the smoke, gases and vapour that had escaped were weighed, they would represent the same quantity of matter as the original piece of wood, together with the oxygen from the atmosphere that has been used in combustion. The greater part of it has passed into a subtle form, but it is still in existence and will be built up into other forms. Again, if a body be pushed up a slope, one might imagine that the energy expended was lost beyond recovery—yet here again it requires but an elementary knowledge of science to know that it is stored in the body as potential energy—an energy depending on its position above the surface of the earth, and by means of pulleys or other machinery it could be utilised to raise another body or to do various kinds of work by simply allowing the body to fall to its original level. If the work thus done is measured, due allowance being made for friction, generation of heat and other causes of apparent loss of energy, it would be found to be the equivalent of the work done at first in raising the body.

All forms of matter are but the different conditions of one and the same substance, and all forms of energy, including thought, are but the different conditions of one and the same energy. All forms of energy are but modes of motion or vibrations differing in rate and in character. Sound, heat, light, electricity and other forms of energy are but different kinds of vibration varying in rate and in character. It is even considered that the more rapid vibrations may be connected with the various phenomena associated with thought. All the forms of energy may, therefore, be the result or the manifestation of one original force which acts differently according to the circumstances amid which it acts. With regard to matter also, many scientists are inclined to think that probably the chemical elements are themselves various compounds of a much smaller number of elements. It is said that in all probability there is only one fundamental substance, and the differences in the elements are due simply to the various ways in which the atoms of this substance are built into molecules. The result of the experiments made by passing the ray of light through the magnetic field or by placing the source of light between the poles of a horseshoe magnet and of the mathematical calculations based on them, shows a striking resemblance in the effects on the spectra of the elements, indicating that there is a close relationship among the elements belonging to the same chemical group or possibly even among those belonging to different groups. Spectrum analysis shows that intimate relations, if not identities, exist between forms of matter considered as quite distinct. Important spectroscopic information pointing in the same direction has been gleaned through observations on the spectra of the fixed stars and on the different spectra yielded by the same substance at different temperatures. These observations lend support to the idea that all the various kinds of matter, all the various so-called chemical elements, may be built up in some way of the same fundamental substance.

Energy has an important effect on the state and composition of matter. All the forms of energy have been said to be but modes of motion or vibrations differing in rate and in character. Vibrations of different kinds have an important effect on the state of a substance due to the rearrangement of the molecules, and on its composition, due to the rearrangement of the atoms of which, the molecule is built. For example, if a lump of ice is heated, that is to say, if vibrations belonging to that set which we call heat are passed into it, it is changed into water. The motion of the molecules is altered so that instead of being built into a fairly rigid form they lie loosely one on another. If more rapid vibrations of the same kind are passed into water thus obtained, the molecules are

driven still further apart until their cohesive action is overcome and they fly away from one another. In other words, the water becomes steam, but still the molecules themselves remain the same, unchanged in constitution. It is only the state of the substance that has been changed. If another class of vibrations—that which we call electricity—is passed through the water, the molecules are broken up into their constituent parts, and instead of water, we shall have the two gases oxygen and hydrogen, of which it is composed.

Matter and energy are indistinguishable ultimately. Sound, heat, light, electricity and other forms of energy have been said to be but different kinds of vibrations varying in rate and in character, and it has also been said that the more rapid vibrations are even considered to be connected with thought. Experiments also show that when matter is disintegrated into its final or corpuscular condition, it is impossible to distinguish any difference between the corpuscles and electricity, which is a mode of energy.

It is impossible to conceive the phenomena of the Universe which are resolvable into the ultimate relative reality of spirit-matter, without a reality underlying them, which reality must be absolute and secondless. We cannot conceive that our knowledge is a knowledge of appearances only, without at the same time conceiving a reality of which they are appearances, for appearances without a reality are unthinkable. And the reality must be absolute and secondless, for the final cause must be one, especially when the multifarious phenomena have been resolved into the inseparable and finally indistinguishable unity of spirit-matter, which is the ultimate relative reality of the everchanging relative phenomena of the Universe. There is then but one absolute reality which produces the relative reality of spirit-matter, whose manifestation is the Universe. The supposition of more than one absolute is self-contradictory.

Unity of existence is the philosophy of science, which must be the basis of the religion of science. Science proves the monistic theory of the Universe, which teaches that there is but one absolute reality which produces the relative reality of spirit-matter, whose manifestation is the universe. Dualism is only a relative truth, but Monism is the ultimate and absolute truth. The Monistic theory of the Universe must be the basis of the religion of science.

Religion infers the existence of a spiritual world and of a human personality surviving bodily death from certain ascertained occult phenomena, which are however explained by science by the theory of brain waves, but as the brain waves of each person are distinct, and must have an under-

lying reality, they correspond to human personality, which must evolve like everything else by segregation, until a state of equilibrium is reached or separation is complete after which involution must go on by the process of aggregation, until it merges finally in the one absolute reality. A convergence of experimental and of spontaneous evidence has been discovered in certain classes of phenomena which imply a communication of thoughts and images from mind to mind by some agency, not that of the recognised organs of sense. The question then is, is the communication due to mind touching mind in some unheard-of manner or is it due to brain waves analogous to X-rays being transmitted from brain to brain. Religion accepts the former theory of a purely spiritual communication, while science prefers the latter hypothesis of brain waves. Religion argues that among the implications of this direct and supersensory communication of mind with mind, none could be more momentous than the light thrown by it on man's intimate nature and possible survival after death. There is no logical halting-place between the first admission of supersensory faculty and the conclusion that such faculty is exercised by something within us which survives and operates uninjured in a metethereal or spiritual worth. Science, on the other hand, argues that it is possible to reconcile the occult facts with science by the law that thoughts and images may be transferred from one mind to another without the agency of the recognised organs of sense. There is a path by which the incidents of this part of the field and the facts of telegraphy without wires may be found eventually to harmonise, and it is needless to go in for a mysterious human personality when with every fresh advance in knowledge, it is shewn that ether vibrations have powers and attributes abundantly equal to any demand, even to the transmission of thought. Such is the position of religion and science. The theory of brain waves explains the ascertained phenomena as satisfactorily as the theory of a spiritual world, and of a human personality surviving bodily death. According to the former view, there is nothing supernormal in telepathy. If we regard it as a physical process we reduce apparitions at the moment of death or otherwise to a normal, though not very usual fact. Everyone would admit this in the case of mere empty hallucinations. It may be thought, however, that if the phenomena are such as only the spirits of the dead could be credited with producing, it would follow that telepathy is not a physical process caused by material waves or rays from living brain to brain, the dead having no brains in working order. But if living brains may thus infect each other the subjective hallucination of the living person may conceivably be wired on to another living person. Thus one person may have a

merely subjective hallucination of the presence of a dead person, and may unconsciously infect other persons with the hallucination. Thus, once admit that any living brain may infect any other, and it becomes practically impossible for a spirit of the dead to prove his identity. Events remote in space or distant in time must be known to living people, however remote or unknown. If known to a living person, he may unconsciously wire it on to the seer, if wholly unknown to everybody, the veracity of the information cannot be demonstrated except later, when it refers to the unknown future. But if what was thought in the remote past can be reproduced now, what is now thought may be equally reproduced in the future. Thus the theory of telepathy with a little good-will puts the existence and activity of the souls of the dead beyond the possibility of proof. Telepathy cuts two ways. It is a singular discovery, but it throws an enormous burden of proof on a ghost who wants to establish his identity. It will thus be seen that the theory of brain-waves explains the ascertained occult phenomena satisfactorily. Science, therefore, holds that there is no need to go in for a human personality, but a little consideration will seem to show that it is possible to reconcile the two theories. Firstly, brain-waves of a living or deceased person, which affect others at any distance of time or space, sometimes as a single thought, and at other times as a series of thoughts, must be presumed to have existed in coherent form. But it may be asked why, if all the brain-waves exist in a coherent form, they should not all simultaneously recur. It may be answered that this may be due to the incapacity of the persons infected to reflect simultaneously all the brain-waves, just as the perception of the whole or a part of a scene depends on the capacity of the eye that beholds it. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to presume that the brain-waves of each person exist as a distinct coherent entity, especially as it is observed that a series of thoughts often recur. This line of argument is supported by the analogy of electrical waves in telegraphy, light waves in photography and sound waves in phonography, where distinct messages, pictures and records appear to be due to the coherent existence of each set of waves. And we have already seen that electricity, light, sound and thought are but the manifestations of one fundamental energy or force. Presuming, then, that the brain-waves of each person exist as a distinct coherent entity, let us consider what it is that unifies them. The very fact that they are coherent implies that they are unified by some unifying force. Whether this force is what unifies living thoughts, it is not possible to determine. But the brain-waves being thought-waves, it is more likely that the unifying force must be of the nature of what unifies thoughts than of what

unifies electrical waves, light waves or sound waves. Passing over the question of what force unifies the brain-waves, though it is certain that there must be an unifying force, we shall in the second place consider the more important question of an underlying reality of the brain-waves of each person which must exist as a distinct coherent entity. We have already seen that the varying multiform phenomena of the Universe which are resolved by science into the relative reality of spirit-matter must have an underlying absolute reality which must be secondless. It is rigorously impossible to conceive that our knowledge is a knowledge of appearances only, without at the same time conceiving a reality of which they are appearances, for appearances without a reality are unthinkable. The brain-waves, therefore, of each man which exist as a distinct coherent entity, must have an underlying relative reality or centre which must of course be essentially one with the relative reality of spirit-matter underlying all the phenomena of the Universe. This view of the brain-waves of each person will be seen to agree fundamentally with the conception of a human personality or an individual soul. The next question is, does the soul evolve or not. And if it evolves, on what lines must it evolve agreeably with the results of science. Evolution is a universal law of nature due to segregation. Evolution goes on until a state of equilibrium is reached or separation is complete, after which begins involution, the opposite of evolution. This law is illustrated as well in the evolution of a tiny seed as in that of our globe, the solar system and the Universe. The very same law must apply to the soul. In the first place, evolution must begin at the point of development at which a thing has already arrived. This applies also to the soul. The soul must then evolve by segregation or separation until a state of equilibrium is reached or until separation is complete, after which involution must take place by aggregation, the opposite of segregation. The goal must, of course, be the final merging or absorption into the absolute reality from which everything comes, by which everything is maintained, and into which everything must resolve. This evolution and involution must go on endlessly by the very nature of the one absolute reality. Thus may the theories of brain-waves and human personality, which are equally good, be harmonised.

Hindu monism, which is adopted by theosophy, that claims to be common to all the religions of the world, reconciles religion and science by holding that there is but one absolute reality, that the Universe, both material and spiritual, which is but the subtle form of the physical, is one with the absolute, that the human personality which is essentially one with the ultimate relative reality of spirit-matter underlying the Universe, is nothing but the absolute, that the individual soul is born

again and again as long as it thinks itself to be separate from the absolute and that the realisation of the unity of existence is the basis of morality and the means of salvation or union with the absolute.

According to Hindu monism there is but one absolute reality which is symbolised by the syllable "Aum" whose letters represent the first, the middle and the last sounds. There are two states of the absolute, infinite and finite. The finite is not another but is the absolute conditioned. This relative reality, symbolised by "M" in "Aum," is in nature, self and not self, spirit and matter. This two-in-one, everlasting but appearing and disappearing, is the cause of all things. The power of the absolute, making the Universe manifest, is inseparable from the absolute. The absolute by its inseparable power produces the universe. The question, why is there any Universe, why should the perfect become the imperfect, God become the mineral, the brute, the man?—is unanswerable, for it is founded on false premises. The perfect is the all, the totality, the sum of being. Within its infinity is everything contained, every potentiality as well as actuality of existence. All that has been, is, will be, can be, ever is in that fulness, that eternal. This perfect never becomes the imperfect. It becomes nothing. It is all spirit and matter, strength and weakness, knowledge and ignorance, peace and strife, bliss and pain, power and impotence. The innumerable opposites of manifestation merge into each other and vanish in non-manifestation. The all includes manifestation and non-manifestation, the diastole and systole of the heart, which is Being. The one no more requires explanation than the other, the one cannot be without the other. The puzzle arises because, men assert separately one of the inseparable pair of opposites, spirit, strength, knowledge, peace, bliss, power, and then ask why should these become their opposites. They do not; no attribute exists without its opposite. A pair only can manifest. Every front has a back. Spirit and matter arise together. It is not that spirit exists and then miraculously produces matter to limit and blind itself, but that spirit and matter arise in the eternal as a mode of its being, a form of self-expression of the all. The Universe, then, both material and spiritual, which is but the subtle form of the physical, symbolised respectively by A and U in "Aum," is one with the absolute, because therefrom it is born, thereby it is maintained, thereinto it is merged. All that we see around us comes forth from that fulness, and is as the shadow of that substance. At the beginning of the day of manifestation the many stream forth from the one, and when the day is over and the night comes, then all these

separated existences again dissolve into it. Over and over again this occurs, for universes succeed universes in endless succession. The spiritual world is but the subtle form of the physical. The individual soul, which is essentially one with the ultimate relative reality of the spirit-matter underlying the Universe is nothing but the absolute. The realisation of the unity of existence is the basis of Love, which is the foundation of virtue, while its opposite is the basis of Hate, which is the foundation of vice. The realisation of the unity of existence is also the means of salvation or union with the absolute. Man wanders about in the Universe so long as he thinks of himself as different from the absolute, but knowing himself to be one with it, he obtains liberation. The soul passes through the diversified existences of the mineral kingdom and of the plant and of the animal realms before coming into the human kingdom. When a term of earth-life is over, the soul withdraws from the physical body and in a suitable vehicle passes into the invisible worlds. He carries thither the results of the earth-life to be enjoyed and suffered as fruits, going to the worlds in which these fruits can be consumed. Having arrived at the end of the fruit of that work—of whatsoever he here does—this one returns again from that world to this world of action. This process is repeated over and over again as long as he thinks of himself as separate from the Absolute, but knowing himself to be one with it, he obtains liberation by merging into and becoming one with the Absolute. Such is the teaching of the Hindu Monism, which reconciles religion and science.

The religion of science must then be the best solution of the riddle of the Universe—a problem that every thinking man must attempt to answer.

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CONCERNING HERBERT SPENCER.

WHILE, on the one hand, Herbert Spencer is claimed by the more thoroughgoing of his adherents as the "Prince of Philosophers," on the other hand, his title to be called a philosopher at all is disputed by men of diverse schools of thought. The answer to the question as to whether he was a philosopher depends, of course, upon what we mean by the word "philosophy."

If we are to accept Spencer's own definition of philosophy, we shall no doubt find that he has considerable claims to be admitted as such. He tells us that "Science is partially-unified knowledge," and "Philosophy is completely-unified knowledge." As Spencer established many broad and deep generalisations based on existing scientific knowledge, he was at least a tentative philosopher on his own lines.

Even on Spencer's own definition, however, it would appear that a real final philosophy is not to be looked for, inasmuch as scientific knowledge is ever growing, and the grand generalisations of this year may be upset by the discoveries of the next. Thus even on its scientific foundations, Spencer's philosophy has already shown signs of disintegration.

But it may be questioned whether Spencer's definition of philosophy is quite satisfactory. Most philosophers have aimed at forming some sort of synthesis of the universe, including not only what we call knowledge, but also our feelings and aspirations. A synthesis of the world that does not comprehend ourselves and every part of our complex nature can hardly be satisfactory as a philosophy—cannot, indeed, be called a cosmic philosophy at all. No complete answer can, of course, be given to the question, "What is the universe?" But each philosopher shapes his own conception, which commends itself to him, and may strike a sympathetic

chord in the minds of others, although it can never be completely demonstrated. Thus Schopenhauer formed a conception of the world as "Will and Idea," and was undoubtedly a cosmic philosopher, whether we accept his system or not. That large-hearted, if somewhat bizarre, American poet, Walt Whitman, was also something of a cosmic philosopher. In his "Leaves of Grass," he lets us see very clearly his conception of the universe, especially in his deeply impressive, constructive poem, "Chanting the Square Deific." In fact, poets have often been the best philosophers; for in our views of the cosmos we want something grand, lofty, somewhat vague perhaps, but full of light, life, and beauty. A sound philosophy can never be as dry, definite, and matter-of-fact as science.

Yet this is all that philosophy amounts to in Spencer's hands—a kind of glorified science. A unification of the results of science can never yield us a complete philosophy. Spencer may show, as he does, that certain principles run through all the sciences—mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, and sociology—but such a building of great lines through the sciences does not bring us much nearer to the reality of things. If anything, it seems rather to contract the dimensions of the universe. One is almost inclined to say that, after all, there is not so much variety in Nature as we had thought.

Spencer's mind moved in grooves, vast though the grooves were, and his aim was to fit Nature into these grooves. The magnitude of his mind can be gauged by the fact that his attempt was not quite ridiculous.

He often seems to seek to explain things by reducing them—by showing that they started with something very small indeed. He seeks to explain chemistry by mechanics, biology by chemistry, and sociology as well as psychology by biology. But after all his explanations, we cannot but remain convinced that there is something more in physiology than in chemistry, and a great deal more in the soul of man than can be explained by physiology. All this comes under the head of what Spencer calls the "Knowable," that is, the province of science.

The ultimate underlying reality—the cosmic philosopher's true object of search—is called by Spencer the "Unknowable," as though to warn off further inquiry. This ultimate reality is treated of in

only a very small fraction of Spencer's great work, "A System of Synthetic Philosophy," *viz.*, in the first five chapters of the first volume. In his hands the "Unknowable" remains simply unknowable. This in itself is a confession that Spencer is no philosopher in the cosmic sense. We know that ultimate reality is unknown, and probably never can be known to mortal faculties as we know the objects of scientific knowledge. But the question we ask every philosopher is, "What is your conception of this fundamental reality?" and Spencer has no solution to offer us.

In his endeavours to avoid materialism, Spencer involves himself in some contradictions in the course of his work. As a general rule, he teaches us that all phenomena are manifestations of the Unknowable, and that all knowledge is relative. All we can really know is the effect of outside forces upon ourselves; we cannot know force or matter in itself. As John Stuart Mill puts it, all we know is that "we have permanent possibilities of sensation." But, although this is Spencer's usual position, he falls into some inconsistencies.

For example, in the very first chapter of his great work, which is on "Religion and Science," he seems to claim an absolute validity for the truths of science. He says that "to ask the question whether science is substantially true is much like asking whether the sun gives light." Of course, for us practically it is near enough to the truth to say that the sun does give light, and that science is true; that is to say, our calculations based on the assumption that science is true come out correct. The facts of science are true relatively to us. But that is phenomenal truth only, not absolute, philosophic, noumenal truth.

If Spencer really meant to claim an absolute philosophic truth for the physical facts of science, he would certainly be a cosmic philosopher in a way. He would be a materialist, and materialism does give some sort of explanation of the universe, whether acceptable or not, and so far it is a cosmic philosophy. But Spencer always denied that he was a materialist, and indeed, his awkward "Unknowable" in the background of his philosophy precluded the idea of his being so. At the same time, his evolutionary philosophy fits in better with materialism than with any other system, and the most thoroughgoing of his followers are undoubtedly to be found in the materialistic or atheistic school of thought.

If we take matter as the one ultimate reality, we add what seems to be the necessary foundation to Spencer's philosophy, and convert it into a real, even if indefensible, system of cosmogony. He professes to reduce everything that we know to terms of matter and motion. All that he has to tell us about world-building refers to matter and motion, and to the various stages of aggregation or disintegration of matter. "Evolution," he says, in his famous formula, "is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity, to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." As all his explanations about the world refer to matter and the laws which govern its transformations, it seems natural that he should have regarded matter itself as the one ultimate reality. Then his philosophy would have taken the form of a consistent materialistic system.

But from this step he shrank. Although by no means of a reverential or religious temperament, he did not wish to be identified with the atheists and materialists who must have made up the bulk of his followers.

There is some inconsistency also between the comparatively respectful manner in which he treats religion in his "First Principles" and the treatment which he gives to it when he comes to the evolution of religion in his "Principles of Sociology." In the former work he recognises that religion has a place in the mind of man, and points out what that place is. Religion is the perception of the Infinite or of the Unknowable, the recognition of the deep mystery of the universe. Such a view, although agnostic, is consistent with reverence and piety and even with Biblical language; for example, with the words of Zophar the Naamathite, in the Book of Job: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? Deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" But in the "Principles of Sociology," he traces religion back to a purely superstitious origin, *viz.*, the belief in ghosts and the worship of deceased ancestors.

Towards the end of his life, if we judge from confessions in his Autobiography, he seems to have had some doubts as to the all-

sufficiency of his own philosophy. His attitude towards religious creeds became more tolerant, as the following extract shows :—

Religious creeds, which in one way or another occupy the sphere that rational interpretation seeks to occupy and fails, and fails the more it seeks, I have come to regard with a sympathy based on community of need ; feeling that dissent from them results from inability to accept the solutions offered, joined with the wish that solutions could be found.

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to the permanent value of Spencer's philosophy, we must all admire the steadfastness of his life and the singleness of aim with which, through so many years, and in spite of ill-health and pecuniary difficulties, he pursued his self-imposed task. His was a calm and philosophic temperament, cast somewhat in the mould of the great men of antiquity—a Stoic philosopher in his mode of life, although in theory rather allied to the school of Epicurus.

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BRAHMINISM, JUDAISM, AND CHRISTIANITY.

EXPLORE the sources of the Amazon of Brahminism as flowing to-day in India ; you can trace the mighty river up to three distinct sources, which may be named Vedic, Vedantic, and Bhagavatic. The first may appropriately be called Ritualistic or Polytheistic ; the second, Gnostic or Pantheistic ; the third, Devotional or Monotheistic.

Ancient Brahminical India knew only two streams, the one Vedic, " Ritualistic " or " Polytheistic," the other Vedantic, " Gnostic " or " Pantheistic." Through the faint light supplied by the Yajurveda tradition, the second stream may be carried higher up to Yâjñavalkya, who (III Brihadâr Upanishad) silenced all his opponents in the great council held in the hall of Janaka, the ruler of Videha, the modern Tirhut, in East India ; it does not seem possible to trace higher the source of the " Gnostic " stream. As ritual means the activity of body, not of mind, while knowledge means the activity of mind, not of body, there must have been in the beginning very little in common between the two streams, and so they, as a matter of fact, ran parallel. But when the ritual came to be recognised as the " lower " (5,1,1, Mundaka) or preparatory stage, and the knowledge having come to be looked upon as the higher stage or stage of perfection, the volumes teaching the latter received the name of Vedanta " Goal of (the ritual of the) Veda," both streams could not but meet. The two streams did undoubtedly meet ; but there was no absorption of the lower stream into the higher, so no broadening of the current consequent on the absorption. The question presented in this age to the Vedic followers was not the one of admitting the members of a non-Vedic society into the Vedic fold. That question did once present itself to them, when they had to war with the Vratyas, a non-Vedic, non-Aryan people of Bihar (page 362, Vol. XIX. Journal of B. B. of the R. A. S.) and the further East ; these Vratyas were at times admitted wholesale. But those days had passed to return no more ; a time had come when, notwithstanding that the four classes crystallised, a member of the servile classes, though ranked lowest, could still become the seer

(19, 3, II, Ait. Brah.) of a hymn, could still be recognised and honoured as a ruler, whose daughter (5, 2, IV, Chhând. Upanishad) a member of even the priestly classes could honourably marry. The struggle between Vedic ritual and Vedantic knowledge in such an age was, therefore, a breach in the house, it in no way affected those who were not in that house. The struggle did not deserve the name of schism, much less that of heresy in the sense in which it is understood in the West. It was not so much a struggle for existence, for the preservation of self on the part of either school; it was rather a compromise, one accommodating or tolerating the other. This accommodation the society of those times arrived at when it made a rule of the necessity for performing the Vedic rites in the house before its member aspired to initiation in the Vedântic knowledge, by becoming a forester, and seeking secret treasures supposed to be in the exclusive possession of the sylvan sages. The Vedic rites performed in the house in the prime of life were held as having a purifying and refining effect on the performer's mind which was enabled thereby to see and appreciate the several subtle truths which were carefully hidden from the impure and gross minds of the uninitiated, and were in their sublimity duly unfolded only in a forest to the preformer in his declining years. It was the householder who, if tired of the ritual in the house, had but to knock at the door of a sylvan sage who readily and gladly opened it to him; there seems to have been no attempt on the part of a sylvan sage who was a member of one or the other of the small societies, which were named after the particular Vedic school to which the members, when in the lower stage of householders, had the honour to belong, and which were scattered here and there in vast virgin forests made homes for the first time by them. There being thus no attempt to propagate the doctrines and make proselytes in the world without the forest, there were no conflicts or occasions for them between the lower Vedics and higher Vedantics; the spheres being different though having a common meeting point, there could be no encroachments of the section in one sphere into the sphere claimed and appropriated by the other. Was not the absorption, under these circumstances, of the one section into the other, and the broadening of the stream thereby, a physical impossibility?

One may leisurely ransack the Vedic and Vedantic literatures in their entirety for the Bhagavatic, "devotional" or "Monotheistic," stream, and yet find no trace of it in either. The fountain source of the stream is the Song (said to be) sung by the Bhagavat, who had no faith in Vedic (42, 45, and 53, II, Bhagavat-gîtâ) traditions, for Arjuna, a prince who

was evidently a firm believer in the religion as taught by the Vedas. This monotheistic Bhagavat, whose name has not been preserved, ought not to be confounded with the two Bhagavats popularly known by the names of Buddha and Jina, founders of the two Atheistic religions named after them as Bauddha and Jaina, respectively. The core and kernel of the whole Song is the necessity for one's unconditional surrender to the Voice within, representing the mandate of the Highest Person, and for the recognition of individual responsibility with its concomitant of a fearless performance of duty, without an eye to worldly reward. The early teachings of the Bhagavat were thus purely Monotheistic, the regular and unselfish performance of one's duty being held as the consecration of life to His service; the word *bhakti* will be found used in the same sense in a solitary verse in which it may be said to occur for the first time. All the earliest verses are conspicuous by the absence of any reference to inspiration and incarnation; the Bhagavat described himself neither as inspired nor as incarnate, but as one quite distinct from the Lord, or rather described the Lord as being quite distinct from himself.

In the history of the world as preserved and made accessible to an ordinary English reader, thanks to the British conquest and English education, the idea of inspiration and that too only of priestly classes, is pre-eminently Jewish, the history of the Jews, especially from the establishment of the monarchy down to its overthrow, and subsequent to their return, being full of inspiration of the priests among them. Only a few among the priests, and not their whole class indiscriminately, were privileged to hold communion with and receive communications from Jehovah. In the Samhitā the priest of Varuna is accredited with more or less inspiration, when the suffering worshipper approaches him and wants to know from him what sin could that be which has drawn down the wrath of the divinity upon his devoted head. This is the only trace of inspiration found in the Samhitā; in the Brāhmaṇa literature also, its traces are found here and there, especially in the expression *Gandharva-Grihita* (1, 3, III, Brihadar Upanishad; 29, 5, V, Ait. Brah.) "seized by the Gandharva." The word *Gandharva* seems in such expressions to be used for the Supreme Spirit; it is used in that sense in the Rig-veda Samhitā (2, 177, X.) From the few references in the Brahmanas, the daughter alone, and no son of a member of the priestly classes, could form the medium whose answers to their queries were taken for so many truths by the consulting hearers and their confreres. Deterioration also of the word *Gandharva* may be observed

in the same literature (8, 4, III, Taitti. Brah.), in which it subsequently denoted "an evil spirit," *Grihita* being often used in the classical language for one "seized (by an evil spirit.)" Could it be that the Brahmin priest of ancient India, especially of the Brahmana times, was indebted to the Jewish priest for the idea of inspiration? If it can be demonstrated that the priest of Varuna also belonged to one of the Brahminical classes, it may be necessary to admit the indebtedness of the Aryan priest to the Semitic even in the times of the Samhitā.

The *ananya-bhakti*—"devotion for no other God but Him, the only God without a second"—as described in the solitary verse (22, VIII. Bhagavad-gītā) was characteristic of no other religion except the Jewish. The Mazda-yasnins, that is the ancestors of the modern Zoroastrians, were undoubtedly as Monotheists equally unflinching and unbending, and it was the stern Monotheism which must chiefly have drawn Cyrus towards the Jews and prepared him to promise them substantial help in the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem; but as their history is not preserved, the vast library at Persepolis being set on fire and reduced to ashes by the order of Alexander the Great, there are no materials for an ascent higher, and the inquirer has no other course but to make a halt, for the present, though most reluctantly, at the history of that very small, though surpassingly interesting people. The idea of inspiration cannot thus be pronounced as quite non-Vedic, since its germ is plainly visible in both the Samhitā and the Brahmana literature; but the idea of "exclusive devotion" cannot be called Vedic or even Vedantic, as no trace of it is found in either of them.

May it not be that the very idea of Vishnu, the One Person held by Brahminism to be identical with the Sacrifice, and as such the Preserver of the World by sending down the various blessings, together with the unbending Monotheism intimately connected with it, was first suggested by the Law of Moses, the torrent of which was said to flow down from the all-powerful and highly jealous Jehovah, and that this was the natural outcome of the acquaintance formed with Judaism by Brahmins in the South of India? As has elsewhere (pp. 8-9, "Divings into the Bhagavad-gita") been observed, the name neither of the Bhagavat, whom according to tradition Arjuna singled out and sought as the infallible guide, nor of the author who, being among the staunch followers of the traditional religion of the Bhagavat first versified the tradition, has been preserved; so, it was not difficult for a South Indian, some time after the visit of Narada to the Land of the Fair People, to identify Krishna, who was not only the charioteer, but also the brother-in-law of

Arjuna, with the anonymous Bhagavat, and to add a couple of verses (24 and 30, XI. Bhagavad-gita) representing him as being under the direct inspiration of Vishnu. The inspiration by the One Person of the Bhagavat latterly identified with Krishna may thus have to be ascribed to this acquaintance with Judaism, and not to the idea of the inspiration of the virgins, forming the media of one or more among the Gandharvas, as recorded in the Brahmanas, not even to that of the earlier inspiration of his priest by Varuna in the Samhita.

As the inspired person in this case was no priest, but a prince of the Kunta tribe to which the very mother of Arjuna had the honour to belong, the second versifier in all likelihood belonged to one of the warrior classes, and was a staunch adherent of the Vedantas, more or less Monotheistic, not of the Ritualistic Vedas. With the adoption of this view, there will be only three epoch-making editions, instead of the seven as elsewhere assumed, of the Bhagavad-gita, the first without inspiration or incarnation, the second with the inspiration of the Bhagavat, or rather of Krishna by Vishnu, the third receiving Krishna as the whole incarnation of Vishnu. The followers of the earlier Bhagavat were popularly known as the Bhagavatas. But with the Bhagavat made identical with Krishna and inspired by Vishnu, there came into existence the new Bhagavatas or rather Krishnites, who with the Narayanites and Pancha-ratrites formed the earliest Vaishnavites. The reason of the word Bhagavat not appearing among the names of Vishnu in Amara-Kosa, which is the oldest among the vocabularies, being composed somewhere in the 5th Christian century, is that the author, either a Buddhist or a Jain, was naturally disinclined to count the name, by which the founder of his own dear religion was addressed in his Scriptures, among the names of the divinity who ranked in his opinion far, far below the all-knowing founder of his religion.

The development and diffusion not only of exclusive devotion but also of incarnation, India owes to the labours of the worshippers of Vishnu, which divinity, though in a way Vedic, is as understood by the Puranas and the people certainly non-Vedic; Vishnu must thus bring the Samhita of the Rig-Veda to the front. Vishnu is, besides, the one divinity more worshipped to-day than any other in one way or another by the followers of Brahminism, in which the ancient Ritualistic stream has in reality all dried up, in spite of the natural reluctance of a Brahminical Indian to make the admission. The Vedantic Monism has to-day undoubtedly many followers, but only in name, no one in this caste-ridden land being prepared in the least to put its catholic principles into practice. So, the

Gnostic stream too has for all practical purposes shared the fate of the Ritualistic. Curiously enough, the Gnostic ground to-day has stamped on it the foot-prints of Narayanites, the earliest among Vaishnavites. The Bhagavatic stream, which cannot be said to have all dried up, has been connected with Vishnu directly and also indirectly, through Krishna to deny consubstantiality between whom and Vishnu is in the eyes of Krishnites rank heresy. So, let us first dispose of Vishnu and the Samhita before proceeding to incarnation.

The Samhita of the Rig-Veda is a collection, of uncertain date, of hymns written in ages more or less removed from one another. This collection may be roughly divided with reference to the subject matter into the Pre-Ritualistic and Ritualistic parts, the former being again sub-divided into the Historical and the Elements-worshipping. The Ritualistic part is more or less based on a misunderstanding, which need not always be pronounced as wilful, of the pre-Ritualistic part. In the Samhita as we now have it, the word Vishnu, like others such as Indra, will be found even on a superficial examination, to have passed through more than one stage. In the hymns and verses in which Vishnu is described as personating Sipivishta (4 and 6, 100, VII) and surrounded by the Kiris, or as baffling, with the Indra for his companion in arms, the stratagems of Vrisha-S'ipra, a Dasa, and reducing the 99 villages of Sambara, the word must be taken either as the title of the chief of a tribe, or as the name of a fictitious person with more or less divine attributes. Such hymns and verses must needs be put in the first part. Next came the deification of Vishnu, Indra and others, with the diabolification of their adversaries; this was the second stage. Such hymns may have to be taken as composed in an age when more or less additions were being made to the very simple ritual disclosed in the elements-worshipping hymns. In the Vishnu hymn, very popular on this side of India, Vishnu is the Light-god, the Sun; this is the third stage of the word. Since the rites in honour of Indra, the Thunderer, the mightiest among the gods, were to be celebrated between daybreak or sunrise and day-close or sunset, Light, or the Sun, was naturally described as the friend or companion of Indra. The author of this later hymn had of course present before his mind the earlier hymn describing the companionship in arms of Vishnu with Indra; but he lived in an age which saw only the elements and natural phenomena, no history or historical event of early times in any of the earlier hymns being handed down. This age with its elder sister of the historical, has been duly recognised and recorded in the Nirukta by Yaska. These are the three stages of the word Vishnu, in

the Samhita. In the earlier Brahmana literature also, especially in places where Agni "Fire" is made (1, 1, 1, Ait, Brah.) the lowest, and Vishnu the highest divinity, Vishnu must have meant the Sun, the source of light and the maker of day. In the later Brahmana literature, however, Vishnu is the sacrifice personified, which was probably suggested, as already mentioned, by the religion of the Jews, whose sacrifice, the key of which was in the hands of the priestly classes, may very well be compared with the Vedic sacrifice in which the priest was as prominent and indispensable. The personification of the sacrifice was thus undoubtedly Vedic, as the Brahmana literature, according to the orthodox school, forms an integral part of the Vedas; but the attribute of being "four-handed," the "four arms" representing the "four Vedas," is not Vedic; it must be pronounced as post-Vedic, even post-Vedantic.

It was only when submissively approached and earnestly prayed to by Brahman, the creating divinity, and his entire creation, that Vishnu the Preserver, the Sacrifice personified, condescended to make from a respectful distance to Brahman and others the promise of becoming incarnate, and gave them instructions for the necessary preparations. The word "Vishnu" must thus bring in the word "Brahman"; neither word can do without the other, so intimately connected are they, and as a matter of fact they ought to be so, when it is remembered that Vishnu the Preserver is called in Puranic literature the Father, and Brahman, the Creator, is made his Son. Having thus disposed of Vishnu, we must now turn to Brahman.

Among the 16 priests whose presence the sacrifice demanded, the priest Brahman stood at the head; the sacrificer had to select the Brahman first, before proceeding to the selection of the remaining fifteen. The *Brahman* in the masculine is individualisation of the name of the class of head priests, who had to be quite at home in the Four Vedas, which were appropriately made the four mouths of the god Brahman. The individualisation of the head priest is noticed nowhere except in the S'vetasavtara which from internal evidence has to be put among the latest Upanishads.

(To be concluded)

ANTI-VIVISECTION IN ITS LOGICAL ASPECTS.

FOR a negative gospel, anti-vivisection has gone ahead at a remarkable pace, and its adherents must be given the credit of honesty of purpose and earnestness in that they have not hesitated to spend a good deal of money on their cause, and some of them, at least, feel the indignity of being written down cranks. Many anti-vivisectionists, however, confuse the issues, and in their enthusiasm do actual injury to their cause. Their scope gradually widens out of all manageableness, and includes, in its general condemnation of vivisection, bacteriology, inoculation and various other matters not directly connected with their principles. In their latest endeavours they have made a special onslaught on one of the most fascinating subjects of modern science—they endeavour to discredit bacteriology and to prove that all inoculation is harmful.

Now, as animals are sacrificed in propagating inoculation, there is no objection to be raised to an honest endeavour to prove inoculation harmful on the part of one who is convinced that the sacrifice of animals in any form is unjustifiable. Our mentors tell us to do good for its own sake, but they also try to keep the weaker brethren from straying by announcing that "honesty is the best policy." If, therefore, the anti-vivisectionists' cause can be popularised by such an appeal, let them make it by all means, but they do so at the risk of their own credit.

This credit they seriously jeopardise in their statistics. Statistics from a partisan are very impressive at a first reading, but they are absolutely worthless; yet it is only by statistics that the benefits or harmfulness of inoculation (including in that term all serum and bactericidal subcutaneous injections) can be proved. If only the Royal Statistical Society would take the subject up, we might have some reliable conclusions, but as it is, we have oceans of statistics from men interested in bacteriology proving that vaccinations and all sorts of inoculation are highly beneficial, while, on the other hand, the anti-vivisectionist's figures are just as numerous and often just as convincing in a contrary direction. The ordinary man finds himself in a dilemma. He fully appreciates statistics, but he has neither

the inclination, the training, the means, nor the time to verify figures or arguments on either side. He is naturally inclined to take the word of the bacteriologist, as the man who is intimately acquainted with the subject and has the best means of knowing, so he demands of the anti-vivisectionist the reason why so many scientific men falsify their figures and cook their balance-sheet. The answer is ready: Because it is their means of livelihood. And if one remonstrates that it is a monstrous charge to make against a large body of men who devote their whole lives to the pursuit of knowledge—a charge which one would not dream of making against clerks and shopkeepers as a class—the answer is equally ready: These men have so degraded themselves by experiments upon living animals that they have lost all moral sense. Of course, it is a gross slander, but those who are so concerned for the feelings of a guineapig often have no compunction in probing those of a scientist.

Still, as said above, if the anti-vivisectionist believes his cause is good, we need not be too insistent on his "playing the game" or keeping to the relevancies. But, as a rule, it will be found that a man who strives to support an emotion with logic succeeds only in discrediting the emotion. This is what Dr. Ferdinands does in the November number of this Review. Against his primary objection to the use of animals for scientific purposes there is nothing to urge except the negative objection that such humanitarianism logically pursued would involve vegetarianism both in diet and clothing, and motor traction. But when Dr. Ferdinands proceeds to the "best policy" argument, he does his cause very little good. For instance, he says that a patient is "healed by careful thought, not by knowing the name of his disease or its supposed bacillus." It is surely a very extraordinary statement for a doctor to make that it is unnecessary for him to know what is the matter with his patient. And why the *supposed* bacillus? It is quite evident why—the word is flung in just to discredit the science of bacteriology. Dr. Ferdinands is evidently a logician of the type that refuses to believe the evidence of his senses if it is likely to interfere with his prejudices. He might see in the Bombay hospitals a method of diagnosing which appeals to the confidence of the patient a good deal more than his "careful thought," and which, it is not impossible, has more substantial results. It begins with the "prick of a needle"—an operation against which he warns us passionately; the little drop of blood which exudes from the prick is spread in the finest possible smear over a clean microscope slide, dried, dyed, dried again, and put under the microscope. Scrutiny soon reveals among the blood corpuscles, certain "supposed" bacilli—creatures varying so greatly in

shape that the veriest tyro at microscopy could hardly mistake the microbe of malaria for that of enteric, or of relapsing fever. Dr. Ferdinands himself could hardly have the hardihood to deny that this diagnosis is reliable. By waiting several days with the patient under observation, the disease might usually be discovered in other ways, but to get on the right track a week beforehand with a malignant fever is worth more to the patient than a great deal of careful thought—thought which, owing to those natural variations in different human organisms on which this writer so strenuously insists, may never penetrate to the real cause of the disease at all.

But Dr. Ferdinands might reply, this has nothing to do with vivisection at all, either in diagnosis of the disease or in treatment. But it has a great deal to do with bacteriology, a science which, for the first time in the history of mankind, is enabling doctors to understand disease and demonstrating to all men the *rationale* of hygiene. This beneficent science Dr. Ferdinands pooh-poohs because some bacteriologists, in carrying out the treatment of disease according to the theory of antitoxins, infect animals with those diseases for the purpose of obtaining the antitoxic sera—a proceeding which anti-vivisectionists have by no means a monopoly in finding disagreeable.

Since it is evident that there are still doctors of medicine who scorn to acknowledge bacteria, and even disease itself, it may not be out of place to state very briefly the antitoxin theory. When the body is invaded by disease-producing microbes, it makes an attempt to overcome them by producing an antidote to the poison which the microbes create. This, to the apprehension of most people, is necessarily the explanation of the fact that "nature" can cure at all. Unfortunately, nature's remedies are not always sufficiently potent, for which reason we call in the aid of germicides, as quinine in malaria, or Haffkine's serum in plague. That antitoxins remain in the body for some time is certain, but human variability makes the time very uncertain. For instance, it is a very extraordinary thing (extraordinary beyond the explanation of the improbability of the coincidence) for one person to contract small-pox twice within three or four years, and it would be an unprecedented thing if a convalescent patient became reinfected from other patients in the ward, though that ward might be the most insanitary in the world: but he would take enteric on the least provocation. It is a reasonable hypothesis, therefore, that an antitoxin developed in one organism would, injected into another, have the same bactericidal effect on the microbe of the disease which provoked its

development that an injection of quinine has on the malaria parasite. Sometimes the same idea is differently applied. For instance, in the enteric and rabies treatments, the sterilised poison itself is used, the object being to cause the organism inoculated to prepare an antitoxin against a poison which cannot increase in quantity, so that when the poison-creating microbe appears, the organism will be fore-armed for combatting it. Vaccination, which stands in a category of its own, consists in the real infection with a disease seldom dangerous, to promote the development of an antitoxin potent against another (and a dangerous and disfiguring) disease.

Such is the hypothesis which is to-day widely accepted and largely acted upon. It may afford anti-vivisectionist readers some grain of satisfaction that this article does not attempt to defend it. Its truth or falsity will be established in time by that careful observation for which Dr. Ferdinands pleads. The present writer has no pecuniary interest in sera, and though entirely averse from inflicting pain, feels no inclination to rend the heavens because a rabbit dies of dumb rabies at Kasauli. Though the antitoxin theory seems to him reasonable, therefore, he readily recognises the fact that the results of treatment on the lines so far laid down have been by no means altogether satisfactory. As Dr. Ferdinands says, Koch's tuberculin, and other sera famous in their day, have been cast as rubbish on the void, and there is not the least shadow of a doubt that some which have a vogue now will share the same fate. But to condemn the antitoxin hypothesis on these grounds is not only to deny it a fair hearing (for it has its good results to show), but is equivalent to condemning the whole practice of medicine because of the useless drugs employed by early practitioners. Thousands of patients have been poisoned or tortured for every efficacious drug or method of treatment that has yet been discovered, and though some of the serum treatments have failed, they are conducted in so much more scientific a spirit than was ever the art of medicine, that the inevitable suffering associated with experimentation is minimised.

Vaccination is the oldest and least scientific of the various inoculations practised to-day. It has several unsatisfactory features, the chief of which is that it is performed with an actively poisonous lymph, which, being unsterilised, may contain many dangerous elements. Hardly less objectionable are the dubious methods by which calves have sometimes acquired what passes for cow-pox, and the variation in the lymph, which is often produced by disease of so mild a type as to afford no reason for supposing that it can be efficacious. But the sheet-anchor of the anti-vac-

cinator is Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace's essay, where he deals with the matter statistically, with great effect. Whether his statistics can be controverted the present writer is not competent to say, but he finds it difficult to believe that the medical profession, certainly the least self-seeking in the world, perpetuates a proved fraud and sanctions the perpetration of a crime simply to increase sickness and gain more fees.

Nearly all other inoculations are performed with sterilised sera, which in the heat of argument are described as filth and poisons. Poisons they sometimes necessarily are, but they are not so much filth as is the healthiest mutton-chop. One of the best abused is the Pasteur anti-rabic injection, and of this, as of several other inoculations, the same enthusiasts who scoff at bacilli declare, very inconsistently, that it causes the disease it pretends to cure. Similarly, with the diphtheria treatment, the microbe which, living in the saliva, they pretend is harmless and unconnected with the disease, becomes, when sterilised, a potent factor in spreading infection. A more illogical position could not be taken up. So far as the anti-rabic treatment is concerned, the official figures prove that the Kasauli methods, at any rate, do not cause the disease. Whether they cure is not so easily demonstrable, but some approach to a definite conclusion might be reached if comparisons were made according to race with the incidence of the disease in the whole of India. Different classes of people run varying risks of being bitten, the mortality returns are unreliable, and altogether it would be a difficult task to compile the necessary figures; yet they *are* necessary before we can say for certain that the two per cent. of failures at Kasauli is less than the normal deathrate. According to the anti-vivisectionists, the disease is so rare that it is practically unknown except among discharged patients of Pasteur institutes—but that sounds decidedly unconvincing.

Let us consider finally the plague sera. In India the sera have been extensively used, and plague has increased. In Sydney, Liverpool and Glasgow they have used only sanitation and segregation, and the disease has been stamped out. Perfectly true, but it proves nothing except the desirability of sanitation, and India is perversely insanitary in spite of endless purificatory ceremonies. Dr. Ferdinands says (it is only fair to acknowledge that he copied the remark from a brother pamphleteer) that Haffkine's serum had been in use for nine years, yet in 1905 plague deaths in India amounted to over a million. This is a totally misleading argument. The statistics have been kept as carefully as possible in districts where inoculation has been extensively practised, and they show incontrovertibly that the mortality among the inoculated is far less than

among the uninoculated. There are factors in the case which may be used without unfairness to minimise this advantage. The people who take advantage of inoculation are naturally the ones who take other precautions also; they are most alive to the risk, and so seek medical advice on the first appearance of sickness. This is a consideration which the heartiest advocates of inoculation are ready to take into account, but nothing will suit the anti-vivisectors but to argue that because a million uninoculated people die, Haffkine's serum is under grave suspicion of causing their deaths. Dr. Ferdinands is apparently unaware of Lustig's curative serum, as he says that the plague sera are all preventive. At the Arthur Road Hospital Dr. Choksey carried out one of the few really scientific experiments that have ever been made to determine the comparative efficacy of different systems of treatment. For a long time alternate patients were impartially treated medically and with Lustig's serum. The hospital staff was a great deal too busy to cocker one class of patients at the expense of the other. Dr. Choksey's figures showed a slight advantage to the serum, but not enough to warrant its continuance in view of the greater difficulties and expense of the treatment. But at least the serum did not kill the patients, and if it is incredible that it cured any, then the medical treatment must be acknowledged to be equally fallacious.

With regard to the rest of Dr. Ferdinands' article there is not much to be said. He discourses at length on the danger incurred by experimental surgery on animals, owing to operations perfectly feasible on a dog being dangerous on a human being. But this is one of the inevitable risks of experimentation, and nowhere run so blindly and disastrously as by medical practitioners with their "carefully thought" drugs. Besides, this knowledge (and such as it is it is not entirely useless) could only be gained by experiments on animals, just as that of the variable constitution of man, of which Dr. Ferdinands makes so much, was gained by invariably harmful (to the individual) experiments on man. And the fact (it presumably is a fact) that a hedgehog can make a meal off arsenic and wash it down with prussic acid, savours less of the vivisectionist's laboratory than of the ordinary medical practitioner's dispensary. The remarks about the necessity of studying each patient's individual constitution are perfectly right so far as they go, but are quite away from the point. If anything, they justify boundless experimentation on the human victim—a tendency which the more exact science of bacteriology should do much to correct.

Enough has now been said to show that to any reasoning and not

entirely ignorant man this kind of advocacy only injures the cause it pretends to support. It remains to acknowledge that, while anti-vivisectionists have kept their proper rôle of pure humanitarianism, unspoilt by a display of scientific ignorance, they have done real good. They have hastened the imposition of legal restraints on experiments on animals—a course highly desirable in view of the fact that many medical students and practitioners took with unholy zest to this kind of study, inflicting much pain and seldom finding out anything worth knowing, while they not infrequently acquired a morbid taste for observations of the effects of pain on living creatures and of their capacity for endurance—departments of research in which the Inquisitors of the Holy Office were their worthy forerunners. Anti-vivisectionists cannot, however, on the strength of these laudable achievements, pass a papal decree against the progress of science. If Haffkine's serum prevents plague, we have as much right "not to spare horseflesh" in its preparation as we have in driving to call the doctor.

AUGUSTUS T. MORGAN.

AT THE BEACH.

Art thou the Queen of Nymphs from Ocean's seat,
 In robes of moonlight tripping the wavy line ?
 Art thou an angel come from clouds that shine,
 To sport with waves that beat and now retreat ?
 Were I that favoured wave to kiss thy feet
 In endless rapture ; touch thy limbs divine
 With throbbing heart and claim thy beauty mine
 And mine alone ; to render worship meet
 To thy fair form with loving rev'rence ; sing
 For aye thy glorious praise in every clime !
 Should I thy soft enthralling sweetness feet
 And not with grateful joy in prayer kneel,
 To Him that blessed with love my manhood's prime
 And crowned thee queen of Love's elected ring !

P. S.

THE VIVISECTOR.

(Continued from our last number.)

CHAPTER IV.

MAJOR PERCIVAL SYKES had been in his Majesty's army some twenty years when he was suddenly appointed Adjutant of the 4th Battalion of the —shire Militia in the town of Councester. Worn out with battling against the climates of such places as Aden, Perim, and Hyderabad Scinde, he looked forward to a peaceful life in a small English country town with no little pleasure. Nor was he disappointed; the delightful little town, the pleasant occupants of it, and the lovely scenery in the neighbourhood all combined to make his sojourn there a time of real pleasure. He had arrived there one winter's night about four years before our story commences. The Swell dog, who during his master's recent stay in Aden had spent a happy—and to him profitable—time in Ireland, accompanied him. Swell was a creature of great importance, he had not received his name for nothing; his mother was named Duchess of Fife, his father Lord Eroll, and on one occasion, when he had posed at a local dog-show, a real Princess had patted him. Moreover, during his Irish stay he had lived in a castle under the care of a Baronet. Altogether, the Major's friend who christened him had done wisely in his choice of a name.

As the train containing Swell and the Major drew up at Councester Station, on the cold dark night, the Major experienced a sensation of loneliness which to him was quite unusual. Although he possessed no near relatives, he had always made numerous friends and acquaintances, and now he would be for the time being in the midst of absolute strangers. He hoped the Councester people would be nice to him. At that instant the train stopped with a jerk, and the Swell dog who had been balanced on the extreme edge of the seat, his tongue out, in a state of great anticipation of new excitement, fell off, and as the door

opened, descended rather precipitately on to the platform. The Major followed more leisurely, armed with a travelling platform. The Major and a portmanteau. The little station was very drab, three new novels, thickly on that part of the platform which was lighted; snow lay Major shivered as he hunted for his luggage among uncovered and the goods which were being rapidly thrown out of the small pile of

At that moment a series of unearthly canine yells came by a post from the station. The Major looked instinctively for Swell, who had not developed fighting propensities during his stay in Ireland, and lay in an attitude of blissful contentment, on the snow, wagging his tail, and waiting his master's pleasure. The Major reassured and turned to examine a heavy overland trunk to see if, he surmised, it were his, but the yells increased and became awfully unearthly.

The porter in attendance grinned. "You bet it's that born fighter Lord Bobs, givin' it to some other dog. No one yells like 'im." He departed hastily to the station yard whence the noise proceeded, and the Major aimlessly followed him. There, in the centre of the yard, a terrible scuffle was going on between a big dog and a small one. In the dim light it was impossible to distinguish them clearly, but by the agility and vigour of the smaller the Major guessed him, and rightly too, to be a fox-terrier.

"I thought so," said the porter, and without more ado he proceeded to give the dogs kicks with his heavy hobnailed boots. This had the desired effect. They parted some yards, and snarled horribly at one another, ready to begin again at once. At this point an interruption occurred in the shape of Lord Bobs' mistress who rushed breathless into the station yard.

"Oh you wretched dog, you naughty dog," said Anne, as she stood facing the bleeding, bedraggled mass of white hair that represented her pet. "I never saw such a bad, quarrelsome, nasty dog as you. If you don't improve, I shall be obliged to get rid of you, really!"

The Major stood looking on, and she continued with a slight alteration of tone: "I believe you're hurt this time, and you deserve to be, but you are in such a mess I can't carry you home; you must walk, do you hear me!"

Lord Bobs lifted one bleeding paw towards his mistress, then glanced to where his opponent, a huge black retriever, sat all ready to begin the fray again. In his dog mind he was aggrieved that his mistress did not pity him more.

Anne knelt down in the snow, and took the bleeding paw in her hands. "Oh, poor dear," she said, softening, "You really are hurt. I must carry you."

By this time the porter had gone, and the Major was the only spectator of the scene. He felt obliged to render assistance.

"Can I see if he is really hurt?" he asked politely, raising his feet a few steps forward. Anne looked up.

"Thank you," she said, "You are very good. I am afraid his leg is hurt."

The Major took the paw and felt it most professionally. Lord Warbled.

"Naughty," said Anne severely, and he hung his head in penitence.

"There are no bones broken," said the Major at length, "but it is much cut about. I will bind my handkerchief round it, and then you can take him home. He is a born fighter I fear, Roberts."

Anne laughed. "Like his namesake," she said, "only he fights in bad causes instead of good ones. But you have a dog too," she added as the patient Swell gave a loud yawn to announce his presence. She patted Swell, and he yawned again in appreciation.

"Yes," said the Major laconically. He had finished tying up the paw, and they stood facing one another in the dim light.

Anne held out her hand. "I have not been introduced," she said, "but you have been so kind to me, and I know who you are. You are the new Adjutant. I knew he was expected to-night. My name is Anne Langridge," she added as an afterthought.

The Major bowed and took the proffered hand. It was a soft, well-shaped one and he grasped it firmly as he said "Good-evening."

That was how the Major had met Anne Langridge. After that he had seen her many times. He had admired her, and for the first time in all his life had been thoroughly in love. He had proposed to her, and been accepted, and then, before they could arrange to be married he had been ordered abroad again. To India, not to a part where it would have been possible to take a wife, but to a desolate barren station with no one but a handful of soldiers and two officers as companions. Their parting had been bitter and full of misery, but in a year's time the Major hoped for a move to a more salubrious spot, and then Anne was to go out to him, and they were to be married. He had left her the Swell dog at parting, and she lavished on him at least half the tenderness she was wont of old to bestow on his master.

Then after six months' absence, during which time Anne's centre of existence had been the arrival of the Indian Mail, there had come that awful letter which in an instant had brought such desolation into her heart.

When the first terrible day after the arrival of that letter drew to a close, she was so utterly exhausted with misery, that she was thankful to go to bed early. All her faculties seemed so paralysed and worn out, that staying awake was impossible; she sank at once into a heavy dreamless sleep, from which she did not wake till half past nine on the following morning. It is always the case when we are in trouble that the most agonising moments of the whole day are the first few after we regain full consciousness from sleep. Anne woke slowly, and gazed round the room. Her head, even as it rested on the pillow, felt heavy; she could scarcely open her eyes, they felt so swollen and strange. She put her hand up to see what was the matter with them, and the action roused her senses to the realisation that things were not as they had been. Something had happened. By the sensation in her head she knew that it was something unpleasant. Still half asleep, she sat up in bed, and at that moment a bright ray of sunlight shone across a photograph of Percival which stood by her bedside. In an instant her memory became clear; thoughts crowded in upon her mind, and she realised all! With a little moan she sank down among the bedclothes again, and drew the sheet over her face. The predominant idea in her mind was that she could not face the daylight. She shunned the sun, it seemed positively to hurt her. She rocked to and fro in a tearless agony. It seemed to her that it was an utter impossibility for her to go on living. There was nothing to live for; all the joy of her life had been swept ruthlessly away in a single moment by that letter. There was not one occupation that held the smallest interest apart from him. She could never sing again; he loved to hear her sing! It would never matter what she looked like any more. There was no one to care, or for whom she wished to keep up her appearance. Oh, the cruelty of it all! And she was only twenty-five! She might go on living thirty, forty, or even more years, years of blank desolate wretchedness.

The clock striking in the hall downstairs roused her again. Mechanically, she counted the strokes, each one seeming to strike right through her leaden brain. Ten o'clock! Miserable as she was, Anne sprang up aghast. How late she was! Surely, her mother had not waited breakfast for her! At the thought of her mother a sensation of relief stole over her tortured mind, and she almost smiled. She had her left to live for, dear soul, and she had gotten her in her selfish grief.

She dressed quickly ; the blue linen dress flung over the bottom of the bed gave her a pang as she glanced at it. "Not that any way," she murmured, and walking to the wardrobe she searched for her darkest attire. She found a grey voile dress trimmed with white lace, and put it on. It was scarcely a mourning dress, but still that mattered little, it was dull and sombre.

When she had finished dressing, she flung the window open and looked out. It was already very hot, and the sun flooded the garden, bringing out all the gorgeous colouring of the flowers into perfection. The scent of the lilies brought a sob into Anne's throat. Only last year she had sat with him near them. She remembered what she had said just as he rose to go.

"Scents are quicker than sights or sounds
To make the heart-strings crack."

"There now, sweetheart, think of me when you smell lilies again!" and he had answered: "Do I ever not think of you?" Then they both laughed together happily.

Anne drew her head in and shut the window with a snap. There is nothing more mocking to human misery than the brightness of nature in the blaze of sunshine. The seeming indifference of it all is hateful to us at the first sharpness of our wretchedness. It is only, when by learning, we become one with the heart of nature, that she is soothing to us. When we realise that even our own sufferings are one with the eternal sacrifice of all things to the Perfecting of the Whole, that we are at rest with nature and our own souls.

Having shut the window, Anne turned to the Major's photograph. "I am faithful to you and shall be to the end of time, Beloved," she said, then drawing herself up erect and firm, and endeavouring to place her mind in the same condition, she walked from the room to face the new vacancy of her life and to fill it as best she could.

CHAPTER V.

The bell of the Abbey Church of Councester was tolling for evensong. It was five minutes to six on an hot and airless day at the beginning of June. The market place lay scorching in the sunshine, and but few people were in it. They were waiting in the cool of their own houses before going forth for their summer evening walk. In the centre of the marketplace stood the bus ready to depart for Handown. It was a new and particularly gorgeous motor-bus, one of the very first of its kind, and the people of Councester prided themselves on possessing it, since it proved them to be in this, as in all things, thoroughly

Church of St. John at Councester was almost unequalled in the country. Founded in Saxon days by the Lady Elfrida Valden-Forde and named in honour of her departed husband John Valden-Forde, though seemingly of the disciple John, it had an almost unbroken history extending over some fifteen hundred years. The edifice upon which Charles Keynsham rested his eyes dated from the reign of Edward III., and was in the best style of early English architecture.

The beautiful pointed arches of the nave were in grey stone, darkened and marked by time, and rich traceries adorned them. Keynsham raised his eyes towards the roof. It presented one of the most beautiful specimens of fan-tracery in Europe, unequalled save perhaps by the world-famed cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral. The sun shone brightly through the great west window and the coloured garments of the saints depicted thereon threw luminous red, purple, blue, and orange shadows, on the pillars and floor. The east seemed dim and grey in contrast to the gorgeous west, but from it there came the softly pealing strains of the organ, as the choir chanted the *Nunc Dimittis*. The voices rose and fell in glorious harmony and Keynsham found himself unaccountably moved and calmed.

The atmosphere of the church was so strikingly different from the horrors of the room he had just quitted. He sat quite still, and crossing one knee over the other, leaned back complacently in the corner of the carved oak pew in which he found himself. On his right, in one of the side aisles in an alcove in the wall, he noticed a curious tombstone, with a knight and his lady reclining on it, beneath them was a crest—the ford of a river with a drove of cattle crossing it—and above, a gorgeously emblazoned coat of arms. It was the tomb of Hubert Valdenforde and his wife Joan. Keynsham smiled as he noticed it. He had only that day been introduced to the last lineal descendant of the Valdenfordes, and the contrast between the raw, sickly looking youth, and the strong, well-built form of the knight reclining on the tomb, aroused his sense of humour keenly. “Perhaps the puny youth will be glorified after death claims him,” he murmured under his breath to himself. “Even the horror I have seen die to-day will be enshrined by a gorgeous tombstone ere long!”

Suddenly he was roused from his reverie, The service was over and the small congregation was leaving the church. Not a few among the worshippers cast inquisitive glances in his direction. Some of them knew who he was, but to others he was a complete stranger. Only a very few passed him without a look, and among these latter was a

tall woman dressed in deep mourning. She seemed intensely preoccupied, and Keynsham found himself looking at her with some interest. Her face was pale, and not exactly beautiful, although sweet, but her hair was lovely, rich masses of golden brown piled high beneath her large black hat. The light from a golden-robed saint in the West window was cast upon it as she passed Keynsham, and it played the part of an aureole about her head. In its strong glow her face was illuminated, and he saw that her eyes were red and heavy as with constant tears.

Keynsham turned in his seat and looked after her; she quite roused his interest, this pale, black-robed woman. He did not remember having seen her during his month's sojourn in the town, and he wished that he might see her again, and learn her name. He noticed too her hands; they were slender and beautifully shaped. She wore no gloves but carried a pair twisted through the handle of the silver case that held her prayer book. Involuntarily his glance fell on her left hand. On the third finger she wore a plain gold circle, and the sight of strangely enough depressed him. She was married then! Somehow, he had not imagined her married. She had a singularly unprotected air which seldom belongs to a woman with a husband. Perhaps she was a widow, but no, she did not wear a widow's dress. He could not understand it. He watched her pass out of the Church into the sunlight outside, and then he rose and prepared to follow. His stay in the Church had an unexpectedly soothing effect on his disturbed senses, and he left hard and strong again, with all his accustomed vigour about him. He strode forth and the old verger, as he closed the door after him, wondered.

"That's a rum 'un and no doubt," he muttered, "they do tell me as 'e's an hatheist and doesn't hold with no God nor Church nor nothing, but 'e sat 'ere quiet enough now. It's my belief," he continued slowly to himself as he shut and locked the heavy oaken door, "as folks can't quite get along without God, no matter wot they says. 'E comes in useful like sometimes, specially when they 'as trouble and such."

Thus having delivered himself of this sentiment, which unfortunately no one heard, unless a few starlings sitting on the gutter of an adjacent house can be reckoned as an audience, he gathered up his several keys of office, and departed to his home, his wife Maria, and his unvaried supper of Welsh rarebit.

Keynsham, after leaving the church, strode rapidly home in the still, hot evening air. He had a small house about a mile distant from the church and near the Camp. It scarcely took him a quarter of an

hour ere he reached his own gate and entered. In the small garden an old woman was busy tending some young hollyhock plants, which had overgrown their supports and needed new ones. She started as her master approached, and quickly left her work and entered the house. She dreaded and feared the sharp-featured doctor, who had engaged her as his housekeeper and maid-of-all-work, and never stayed an instant longer than she could help in his proximity.

Keynsham understood her dislike of him. He was used to being feared. Few among all the human beings with whom he came in contact failed to dread him, and yet the knowledge did not annoy him; it even caused him a grim sense of pleasure which he did not disguise. If his patients hated him he cared not; his skill as a surgeon was so renowned that he knew in case of need they would drown their sentiment, and willingly place themselves in his hands, knowing that he would do much that many a pleasanter doctor could not do for them.

Keynsham entered the house. On the left of the tiny hall was a simple dining-room, and on the right his study, behind which was a room he allowed no one but himself to enter, and which he designated his laboratory.

He walked into the study and sat down. It was a neatly furnished room, with a large desk, and a leather-covered chair placed near the window. Round it were rows of books carefully arranged on plain oak shelves. There was no carpet on the floor, and no ornaments of any kind graced the apartment. It was a room for use only. Keynsham sat down in the armchair near the desk, and as he did so his eye fell on a small note addressed in a large and straggling hand to himself. He picked it up. On the back was the large ornate crest of the —shire regiment. He wondered vaguely what it could be about. An invitation to dinner in camp no doubt! With his usual precision he took his paper opener and opened the envelope, a small crested sheet dropped out, and he read:

Dear Keynsham,

One of those confounded deer in the Park has half hanged itself on a rope of my tent. The beast is injured but alive. I hear you make experiments on such. Would you care for him? If so he shall be sent down to-morrow. He will be a nice docile beast to handle.

Yours truly

PERCY VALDENFORDE.

Keynsham folded it up and smiled grimly. "So he has some sense in his head, after all," he said. "I shall certainly have the beast. If I could keep him alive long enough to inoculate him with the Spotted Fever bacillus, and watch the process, it would be excellent! Ha, ha!" he rubbed his hands together, "I will accept him at once."

Then, taking a sheet of paper from a drawer of his desk, he wrote;
Dear Valdenforde,

Many thanks for thinking of me. Please send the beast, and be careful not to let him die beforehand.

Yours truly,
CHARLES KEYNSHAM.

He folded it up and addressed it to

The Hon. Percy Valdenforde,

The Camp,
Councester.

Then he rang the bell and the old woman appeared.

"Take this note and leave it with the sentry at the Camp gate," he said.

The old woman took the note with a quiet "Yes, Sir." She seldom remembered having seen her master look so pleased, and wondered what had occurred to cause such an unwonted sparkle in his eye!

Left to himself Keynsham chuckled unpleasantly. "I am in luck's way to-night," he said. "A deer is an excellent subject, so quiet, no kicking like those beasts of horses. Ah, how I remember what a kick that yellow one gave me when I was studying in Paris, but I had it out of him after when he was strapped down, didn't I just; he lived three days too!"

And still smiling at such a pleasant memory, he selected a book from one of the numerous oak shelves and sat down to wait till his servant should return, and his dinner be ready.

(To be continued.)

MARGARITA YATES.

London.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Lord Morley's Contributions to the Philosophy of Indian Government.

A report found its way into the columns of newspapers some time ago that Lord Morley was engaged in writing a book on India, and that it would be even a greater work than his *Life of Gladstone*. Indeed, the report hinted at the probability that he had joined the India Office as much with the intention of obtaining an insight into the affairs of this great Dependency as with that of serving his party in one of the most responsible positions which a statesman may consent to occupy at his age. If there be any truth in the report, we may congratulate ourselves in anticipation upon the honour and good fortune of counting among our permanent literary and political guides a statesman and man of letters of Lord Morley's eminence and brilliance. The task is certainly worthy of the man, for there is no part of the British Empire where the statesman is confronted with problems of greater variety and interest than Hindustan. The problems may not be difficult from the statesman's point of view—at least they were not very difficult until recently, in consequence of the law-abiding character, the contentment, and the educational backwardness of the people. Problems of unexpected difficulty have pushed themselves to the front in Lord Morley's time. India was at one time governed by the sword—a comparatively easy method of government for a powerful and advanced nation, with all the material resources of civilisation at its command. That truth is becoming obsolete, though even now, when the need for strengthening the moral and not merely the physical basis of Government has become more manifest than ever, the time has not come to allow the sword to grow rusty. We have already had some philosophers among Anglo-Indian writers: without invidiousness we may perhaps remark that the name of Lyall will at once occur to any student of Anglo-Indian literature. As a rule

however, painstaking research, rather than philosophy, has been the strong point of Anglo-Indian historians and political writers. The habit of inquiring into the why and wherefore of things is not without its peculiar dangers, when it spreads among a people who may have something to gain by asking why things should not be otherwise than as they are. Moreover, the philosophy of one country may not be applicable to the history and circumstances of another, and if there be one warning which Anglo-Indian writers have sounded more frequently and insistently than another, it is to the effect that Oriental Governments must have a philosophy of their own, based on Eastern traditions and social structure, and not borrowed from the West. Lord Morley must have realised the necessity of a somewhat different kind of philosophy than that which refuses to recognise the osmosis between Eastern and Western civilisations. Even if the report alluded to should prove untrue, we would wish it to be true. We cannot, however, hope for a book from Lord Morley at an early date. Lord Curzon said some time ago that he had written a book on Indo-China and India, as he had written one on Persia, but Lord Salisbury advised him not to publish it. For like reasons Lord Morley would postpone the undertaking attributed to him until he had severed his official connection with India. And should he not visit India before writing on India ?

The first great doctrine on which Lord Morley has had to lay stress is that of "settled facts." This phrase has now become as firmly established in the political vocabulary of India as "abhorrence of vacuum" was at one time, and "survival of the fittest" has latterly been, in the scientific phraseology of the civilised world. Lord Morley gave to the doctrine of settled facts a restricted application. He applied it to the question whether under the party system of Government in England, when one Government carries a measure through, and another succeeds it immediately, the latter may reverse the accomplished fact, not because any fresh reasons have been discovered for revising the decision, but merely because in the opinion of the Government which has succeeded the decision of the preceding Government was wrong. There were two principal questions to which the doctrine had to be applied—the partition of Bengal, and the distribution of work between the military members of the Government of India. As Lord Morley emphasized the doctrine, it was a matter

of etiquette and of constitutional practice as between the two great political parties of England. What application had it to India, with its monistic system of Government? Here a hasty withdrawal from a completed measure, in deference to hostile agitation, may be considered to involve a loss of prestige, but no question of constitutional policy arises as between one party and another. It may, however, arise as between one Viceroy and another. Though the Government of India is vested in several individuals constituting a corporation aggregate, the public are in the habit of holding the Viceroy responsible for the acts of his Government. Apart, therefore, from the question of prestige, if the partition of Bengal had been modified after the retirement of the Viceroy in whose time it was effected, the public would have interpreted the measure as a reversal of Lord Curzon's policy by Lord Minto. Both belong to the same party of English politics, and yet the reversal of the accomplished fact would have been open to the same objection as Lord Morley raised on constitutional grounds applicable to the politics of his own country. Whether we rely on the doctrine of prestige, or we regard the succession of one Viceroy after another in the same light as the replacement of one party by another in England, the result in such cases is the same. Some time must elapse between the accomplishment of a measure and its reversal, and the personalities associated with the former must fade from the view and from the public memory: otherwise the reversal jars on one's sense of propriety and decency. Amir Abdur Rahiman of Afghanistan once said playfully to an English visitor that the party system of government in England was merely an ingenious device to wriggle out of obligations once incurred by a nation. On the other hand, a former ruler of Gwalior once said to the Political Agent that the most conspicuous and admirable feature of the British Government was its great regard for continuity of policy. Every Dewan of a Native State, His Highness said, tries to upset his predecessor's policy, to make his master believe that he is the more faithful and more capable servant of the two. A British officer sinks his personality into the Government which he serves, and sticks to the policy of his predecessor. The Scindia's observation was as profound as the Amir's was witty. In the East we have still to learn to sink personalities in a cause, whatever the nature of the cause may be.

Those who feel that the doctrine of settled facts has been wrongly applied to the partition of Bengal have poured ridicule upon that doctrine itself. Properly construed, it is the moral foundation all of stable Governments. Eastern Governments have been unstable, because the actors on the political stage have sought to gratify their own personal ambition and to carry out their own individual views, instead of preserving the continuity of the policy of the impersonal State. Constant change of policy, according to the whim of the man in power, shakes the public confidence, and destroys the interest of the people in the affairs of their country. The history of England even in modern times has, indeed, not been stereotyped. The nation may change its policy, and the national mind—the mind of the majority—has its own moods, which may vary without sufficient cause. But the policy of a nation is not liable to fluctuations as sudden as those of a policy which varies with the individual in power. The Emperor of China dies, and speculation busies itself with the probable and immediate effects of a change in the imperial personality not only on the prospects of individual officers, but on the affairs of the Empire generally. A leading reformer is sent away from the court by the Prince Regent, and a reaction is at once apprehended. A varying succession of sunshine and shadow would be impossible in a country where the doctrine of settled facts was firmly established. In the East, more than in the West, custom is the great regulating and steadying force which minimises the evil of instability in the higher strata of society to the masses below. The currents and the storm-lashed waves disturb the surface, while deep down the waters are unmoved. Hence the poet thought that the East was ever plunged in thought, undisturbed by the marching legions. As a matter of fact, the thought is not metaphysical : it is occupied with the realities of the work-a-day world and is agitated by hopes and fears. In the deep sea, where the rays of the sun do not penetrate, there is life, palpitating as ceaselessly as in the layers in which the monsters float. Yet custom safeguards the masses of the population against the consequences of court intrigues and the change of rulers. And what is custom but a settled fact, or a body of settled facts, and of rules based on those facts ? In its extended application the doctrine of settled facts is the best answer that can be given to the idle inquiry which is unsettling the minds

of not a few young men in this country—why India should permanently remain a part of the British Empire. India has been successively invaded by conquering tribes, and if facts of conquest are never to be taken as settled, we may have to set up a Government by the Bhils, the Santals, the Todas, and other tribes supposed to be aboriginal. The “depressed classes” will have to be recognised as the ruling class, and the Brahman and the Kshatriya, the Moghul and the Pathan, will have to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Khond and the Yerava. History is a floating palace on the waters of oblivion.

Thou unrelenting Past !
 Strong are the barriers round thy dark domain,
 And fetters sure and fast,
 Hold all that enter thy unbreathing reign.
 Far in thy realm withdrawn,
 Old empires sit in sullenness and gloom,
 And glorious ages gone
 Lie deep within the shadow of thy womb.
 Thine for a space are they—
 Yet shalt thou yield thy treasures up at last :
 Thy gates shall yet give way,
 Thy bolts shall fall, inexorable Past !

But in what form will the Past reappear ? It will wear a new aspect and present a new guise.

The emphasis which Lord Morley had to lay on the doctrine of settled facts is due to the accident of some of the measures of the previous Government having provoked opposition and bitter criticism. The normal progress of the country has elicited from him the equally important dictum that while British institutions cannot be transplanted into India with all their features—the growth of centuries in peculiar conditions—the spirit of such institutions may yet bear transplantation. Indeed, the great mission of England in the East is to communicate to the oriental peoples the underlying principles of the institutions which have enabled the British nation to attain its political manhood and its social efficiency. Many of those who recognise the unsuitability of Western political institutions to the existing state of things in India stop at the enunciation of that truth : Lord Morley goes further, and looking at unmistakable trend of the movements and aspirations called into being by imported ideas, he

perceives the danger of the internal machinery of Government refusing to adjust itself to the rapidly changing external conditions. The necessity for such adjustment arises from the proved communicability of the spirit of Western institutions to the East. A belief in the immutability of the East will expose the fond believers to the surprise and pain of startling disillusionments ; and if it results in opposition to change and progress, it may spell disaster. The early administrators of the East India Company saw very few signs of the transformation which India was bound to undergo. Yet, with a full knowledge of the general conservatism of the people of this country, Warren Hastings nevertheless expressed a doubt whether a century later the people would be as law-abiding and friendly to the British as they were in his day. That great administrator lived before the days of Kipling and Kidd and was guided by his native commonsense and his vast experience of mankind, untainted by theories concerning the influence of physical surroundings on racial types and the fixation of character by heredity. The vague and mysterious talk about Western institutions being transplanted into India resolves itself into the question whether the people of India have the capacity and the public spirit to manage their own affairs as well and efficiently as most civilised nations of the West are admitted to be doing. Doubt is cast upon that capacity because in the past the people allowed power to pass into the hands of adventurers, whose authority they could not constitutionally limit. Judged by this test, any nation or tribe may easily be shown to be devoid of the capacity for self-government, and it would be equally easy to prove the contrary. There are tribes, low in the scale of civilisation, who have a system of popular government of their own : on the other hand, the self-governing nations of to-day had at one time their despots and absolute monarchs. Self-government and civilisation are not mutually convertible terms, nor is capacity for self-government synonymous with actual self-government. The form of government which prevails in a country depends upon so many adventitious circumstances, that any inference therefrom as to innate and fixed characteristics of the people would be misleading and erroneous.

What is "public spirit" ? Is it essentially different from the love of one's own clan or caste ? Both are different forms of the altruistic sentiment. The altruism which radiates from the home to

the utmost limits of a tribe or community may be trusted to pervade a wider sphere, with suitable training. When the spirit once emerges from the narrow abode of self-interest, it may be persuaded to roam to the farthest corners of the earth. A German traveller has said that "every oriental people has a certain national aversion to every other, and even the inhabitants of one province to those of another. The Turk does not readily tolerate the Arab, nor the Persian, and these feel similarly towards the Turk ; the Arab does not get on well with the Persian, nor the Persian with the Arab ; the Syrian does not like the Egyptian, whom he calls inhuman, and the latter does not willingly associate with the Syrian, whom he calls simple-minded and stupid ; and the son of the desert condemns both." A more or less similar statement might have been made by a traveller in India, before the country was united under a common Government, regarding the mutual antipathies of the races and communities inhabiting this vast geographical area. Yet the cosmopolitan sentiment finds expression in the best teachings of the sages of every Eastern country. The Hindu has taught "it is the thought of little-minded persons to consider whether a man is one of ourselves or an alien, the whole earth being of kin to him who is generously disposed." Similar sentiments may be found in the writings of the best philosophers of almost every Asiatic country. What the few have felt, the many are capable of feeling. The effectiveness of the altruistic sentiment depends upon the area within which it works, and the means available to achieve the desired benefit. He who is capable of working disinterestedly for his community is by nature not incapable of extending his altruism to the municipality within which he lives, or his district, his province, or his country. The seed that may develop into the tree is in him : the prejudices which arrest and circumscribe the development have to be removed. The defect is not so much in his character as in training and surroundings, and possibly in the imagination which is unable to wander over large areas, and take in too many details. As Westermarck truly remarks in his new book on the Origin and Development of Moral Ideas : "In mankind altruism has been narrowed by social isolation, by differences in race, language, habits and customs, by enmity and suspicion. But increased intercourse has gradually led to conditions favourable to its expansion. As Buckle remarks, ignorance is the most powerful

of all the causes of national hatred ; when you increase the contact, you remove the ignorance, and thus you diminish the hatred. People of different nationalities feel that in spite of all dissimilarities between them, there is much that they have in common, and frequent intercourse makes the differences less marked, or obliterates many of them altogether." The great work that England is doing for the races in India is to "increase the contact, and to remove the ignorance." The rest must follow.

Lord Morley's recognition of the "apt intelligence" of the people of India, and their capacity to manage the affairs of their country, does not remain a matter of compliment in State despatches and in Parliamentary speeches. It has found a place in His Majesty the King-Emperor's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Crown's direct assumption of the government of this country ; and it is to be worked out in a series of important reforms. While others might harp upon the trite circumstance that India is not yet a united nation, and occupy themselves merely with the immediate task of securing representation to minorities in elective bodies, Lord Morley looks to the future : he has placed an ideal before himself and wishes to facilitate the march of the people towards it by bringing together the various communities to work for a common end hand in hand. His scheme of electoral colleges has been as hastily and as strongly objected to in some quarters as his doctrine of settled facts was in others. That scheme may require a modification to suit the local conditions of one or another part of the country. Its object is to prevent the component parts of the population from drifting away from one another, each in pursuit of the privileges vouchsafed to it by Government, without making any effort to bridge the gulf between them. If each community forms a separate and exclusive electorate, and if its business with other communities be to scramble for more seats and to assert rival interests, instead of throwing their interests into the common hotchpot, India may remain as disunited as ever. Indeed, the gulf between the communities may widen, if they are taught to assert and fight for their separate interests. While it is true that a practical statesman should not ignore the present differences between the component elements, it is equally true that a progressive Government should teach them to sink their differences gradually and endeavour

to evolve future harmony. While Lord Morley is willing to reserve a certain number of seats to the Muhammadans and other minorities in the Legislative Councils, he desires that in electing the special representatives, the various communities should combine at one stage or another of the election, so that they may understand and learn to appreciate the true purpose of reserving the special seats. The object is not to emphasize and perpetuate differences, but to provide for the differences that happen to exist at the present stage of the evolution of the community. The majority must be taught to recognise its duty to the minorities, while the minorities should not be encouraged to believe that they are a specially favoured class, who may remain careless of the future, relying always on the interference and protection of Government on the presentation of a petition. The training for self-government would be defective if the various communities were not taught to realise their duties towards one another, and to combine in safeguarding their respective interests. The critic's mind is obsessed by present rivalry : the statesman's vision penetrates into the future, and he realises the responsibility of England for perpetuating a past which it is her mission to improve.

Lord Morley is sometimes spoken of as a "doctrinaire." There is more truth in the criticism of his own friends that since coming to the India Office he has made his former doctrines sufficiently elastic to suit the conditions of India. Indeed, his constituents at Arbroath and his political admirers and disciples were so persistently accusing him of going back upon the principles of a lifetime that he must have derived considerable relief from his translation to the Upper House. He has boldly told his friends and disciples that principles are only lessons drawn from the experience of nations, and they have to be revised in their practical aspect in the light of new experience gained. The experience that a Liberal statesman acquires in the India Office and in the Colonial Office is of a somewhat different kind from what other members of the Cabinet gain in their respective offices. The spirit of compromise and of practical statesmanship with which he has clung to his principles is most conclusively proved by a fact on which he had laid repeated emphasis—that he has found himself in complete accord with a Viceroy who was appointed by the Opposition. His doctrines have not been of a kind and rigidity that needed to be forced upon an unwilling and unappreciative Government

on the spot. Lord Ripon had to confess the other day that in one of his attempted reforms he was twenty-five years ahead of his time. Lord Morley is more cautious : he is said to have held twenty-five years ago that Lord Ripon was rather hasty, and he has managed to avoid a similar charge, while he has earned the gratitude of the National Congress for concessions which are declared to have even exceeded expectations. If he knows when to yield—an art in which all successful statesmen must be adepts—he knows equally well when to stand firm. He has especially resisted all temptation and pressure to embark on a foreign policy which might have entailed a long frontier war, even with an army reorganised and made efficient by Lord Kitchener, and might have put a strain on the relations of the Indian Government with the neighbouring Powers. The two punitive expeditions sanctioned by him were closely watched by him, that nothing might happen to force him to adopt the policy of annexation recommended by the Government of India. Doctrinaires, if they are not obstinate, are apt to be considered weak when they have to deal with masterful agents. The application of their doctrines depends upon the information supplied to them and the representations made to them by authorities and agents on the spot. If Lord Morley has not quarrelled with Lord Minto, even a greater feat achieved by him is, perhaps, that he has not quarrelled with Lord Kitchener. The harmony between the three is creditable to all, and has enabled the Secretary of State to embark on a policy of domestic reform, to lay down clearly the lines along which the mission of England in India is to be carried on, to take a great step forward in helping the constitutional progress of the country, and to earn the gratitude of thousands of those who were supposed to be addicted to chronic criticism and discontent.

CURRENT EVENTS.

The pacification of Bengal seems to proceed apace. It is difficult to appraise the contribution of each of the measures adopted by Government to the common result: whatever the cause may be, there have been no sensational developments of anarchism for several weeks past. The police make isolated discoveries of bomb manufacture and the like attempted by the young, but no activities of a widespread or alarming nature have been detected, and the prospects of the public tranquillity seem to be getting brighter. Five Samitis have been declared to be unlawful under the recent law, and it is likely that this measure is beginning to have the desired effect of diverting the thoughts and energies of the young men concerned from drills and adventurous expeditions—if the police suspicions be true—to pursuits more useful to themselves and their country. Whether the deportations were necessary and whether they have produced any effect, will not be known to the general public. The National Congress passed a resolution condemning the old Regulations which have placed in the hands of the executive Government a weapon that can be used so silently and so suddenly without accountability to the law courts. When Lord Morley is not prepared to remove the weapon from the Government's armoury, knowing full well, as he has said, the mischief of generally empowering the executive Government to defeat unconstitutional agitation by unconstitutional means, it is practically sanctified. The reason why Lord Morley refuses to repeal the Regulations may be that the executive Government in India has the power of forging the weapon whenever it requires it. In England His Majesty's Government possesses no such power.



The anarchists do not care much for the reforms which the Secretary of State has sanctioned and is expected to sanction on receipt of the report of the Decentralisation Commission. Yet while they may personally be irreconcilable, the public interest requires that they should not find a congenial soil for the seeds of mischief

and disaster which they sow. The reforms have been very serviceable in withdrawing the thoughtless sympathy which was extended to the enterprises of those who could profess to have been driven to despair by the unsympathetic attitude of the men in authority. No less important than the reforms themselves have been the declared intentions of H. E. the Viceroy and the provincial rulers to transfer to the people, in right earnest and in a genuine manner, a portion of the power now exercised by Government in administering the affairs of the village and the taluka, the district and the province. Indeed, the impending transfer of responsibility has set many a-thinking how far the recipients of the concessions will be able to congratulate themselves on the manner in which they discharge their new duties. The first effect produced by the announcement of Lord Morley's scheme of introducing the elective principle in a larger measure than before has been that the Muhammadans are not satisfied with any arrangement short of constituting them into separate electorates. As a beginning, this must be rather disappointing to Lord Morley. The evident meaning of his reminder to the Muhammadan deputation, that they cannot hope to have another combination of Secretary of State and Viceroy so favourable to their aspirations as the present, is that if the spirit of mutual exclusiveness continues and grows, the cause of self-government may receive a serious check at the hands of those who may come into power hereafter.



The Muhammadan deputation gave Lord Morley a convenient opportunity for an exchange of international compliments. Mr. Roosevelt had eulogised the work of civilisation which England had carried on in India, and Turkey is a friend of England. A few Hindus are said to have gone to the United States to disseminate freely from that centre over the whole civilised world the grievances of those who are alleged to aspire after self-government in India. They conduct a newspaper, and other newspapers may be induced to echo the sentiments to which they give publicity. No international question will arise out of the newspaper criticism of the British Government in India. Yet the material prosperity, if nothing else, of this country requires that the faith of the civilised world in the stability of the Government here is not shaken. Trade and capital are sensitive to political rumours, and the reputation for having secured the contentment of the people is an asset which the Government cannot very well allow to depreciate. Hence Mr. Roosevelt's encomium on the British Government in India was very valuable and deserving of hearty acknowledgment by the Secretary of State for India, who has ordinarily no occasion to refer to affairs east of the Bay of Bengal or west of the Arabian Sea. Moreover, a colonising and expanding Power like England cannot afford to ~~to~~ ~~an~~ ~~a~~ ~~bad~~ ~~name~~

for its treatment of subject races. There is a more vital connection between the Muhammadans of India and the Sultan of Turkey than between Indian home-rulers and American newspapers. This connection is not formal. Yet some of the resolutions passed in Muhammadan meetings show that it is not imaginary.



All real progress takes place in silence. Carlyle and Maeterlinck are agreed on that. The plant imbibes moisture from unseen depths and in the stillness of the dewy night. The human body grows without the speech-inspiring Atma being aware of it. While all India and England have heard of the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms, who will notice the educational reforms in which H. E. the Governor of Bombay takes a deep interest? Their object is, briefly, to bring higher education up to date, and to make it more efficient. His Excellency wishes especially to improve the training in Science. The Principal of the Research Institute, which owes its existence to the patriotism and munificence of a citizen of Bombay, has found that the instruction given in Science in the Indian colleges is perfunctory, according to the standard required, and it does not prepare the students to enter upon the higher course of training in the Research Institute. Sir George Clarke's enthusiasm in the cause of efficient scientific education has kindled the patriotism of a few wealthy sons of Bombay, and some lakhs have been offered to enable His Excellency to place scientific education in the Presidency on a satisfactory footing. Another way in which it is proposed to modernise the local University is to institute a Faculty of Commerce. No one could have made this idea more popular than Professor Lees-Smith, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, who was brought down by the Bombay Government specially for the purpose. Thoroughness in all branches of study is proposed to be secured by the abolition of useless examinations and by recasting the curricula of studies.



The little explosions of popular temper that now and then disturb the public tranquillity in isolated localities may sometimes be as instructive as the general "unrest" which the politician discusses. The riots of the cultivators in the indigo plantations in Behar are instructive in more ways than one. The cultivators are said to have been set up by political agitators, but they would not have risked their liberty and taken the consequences of a breach of the peace unless they had a grievance. Their grievance appears to have been that, under the contracts with the planters, they are prevented from growing crops which would be much more paying than indigo, in consequence of the high prices now ruling. They, no doubt, get advances from the planters and enjoy certain advantages under the contracts, but there may be reasons why they should prefer the

liberty to grow the most profitable crop for the time being. The unrest among these cultivators is a natural consequence of the economic disturbance, the exact cause of which has yet to be ascertained by expert inquiry. The Government is likely to engage the services of an expert from England to investigate the causes of high prices. Then, again, there are the eternal riots due to cow-killing and Muharam processions. The serious conflict between Hindus and Muhammadans at Tittagarh, with the desecration of mosques and the plundering of shops, is instructive at a time when the horizon is painted with visions of self-government.

Sketches of Rulers of India.—Vols. i. to iv. By G. D. Oswell, M.A. The Clarendon Press, Oxford. 2s. net or Rs. 1-12, each volume.

Mr. Oswell, who is well known in India as the talented principal of the Raipur Rajkumar College, is frankly a hero-worshipper—indeed, the names upon the title-pages of these biographical volumes are sufficient to indicate this; they are names that evoke a thrill at their very sound and their assemblage here prepares the reader for what follows. The first volume deals with "The Mutiny Era and After," and includes Dalhousie, Canning, the Lawrences, Clyde and Strathnairn, Mayo, Nicholson and Havelock—all of them great names in Indian history, but some of the greatest of them only partially rulers of India. The sketches are not the result of any original research, but are the fruit of wide reading and much thought. In style they are spirited and attractive, and tell us everything that we most wish to know about the heroes described. The inclusion of Lord Mayo in this volume may seem a little inconsequent from the fact that a dozen years separated his tragic end from the epic of the Mutiny, but the work of this great Viceroy was of such magnitude and importance in the consolidation of the new Empire that his biography falls into its natural place as the last phase of the epoch—his rule being the new birth with which India had been in travail.

The second volume takes us further back into history, but among names which equally stir the imagination—Clive, Warren Hastings, Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Thomason and Colvin—the first name recalling the sudden outburst of the British power as the predominant political force in India, the last bringing us up to the Mutiny. Those who have read Macaulay find it difficult to remember Clive except as the defrauder of Omichund, or Hastings otherwise than as the executioner of Nand Kurnar. To Mr. Oswell they appear in their truer characters of great empire-builders and purifiers of the

public services. He only makes this concession to Macaulay, that he refuses to blush for the "red treaty." In Mountstuart Elphinstone he sees the familiar figure that we have had presented to us before—debonair, gay, in love with life, and at the same time a liberal statesman and a deep scholar—a very different character from that presented in "Bombay in the Days of George IV.", and forming a contrast which it is hard to reconcile, but perhaps, like other biographies in the same series, needing this sort of corrective.

No names quite so magical in their implications appear on the title page of the third volume. Cornwallis, Wellesley, Hastings, Amherst, Bentinck, Auckland and Hardinge—these represent a range of splendid achievement and their biographies must be studied by all who would form some idea of how modern India came into being. To Wellesley there does attach some of the romance of history. He was a commanding figure, both in person and character, all but overshadowed by the greater eminence of the brother who succeeded to his title and added a dukedom thereto. It was in his day that England first began to "think imperially" about India, a new realisation due in no small part to Wellesley's achievements in political strategy. The last biography in the book is that of the "ingenious and aspiring Frenchman" Dupleix. Later historians have shown some tendency to depreciate Dupleix, but Mr. Oswell takes his stand upon that magnificent conception of empire and that invincible greatness of heart for which we have documentary proof, in paying the only tribute which can now be made to splendid failure.

So far Mr. Oswell has dealt with matters of the last century and a half, but in the fourth volume we retreat into the farthest recesses of reliable history—the reign of Asoka. The steps here are long, for only the most enduring names have survived for biographical purposes. After Asoka we have Babar, Akbar, Aurangzib, Madhavrao Scindia, Haidar Ali, Tipu, Ranjit Singh and Albuquerque. Some of these names overlap in their period biographies already given, but with no loss of interest—rather with gain from a knowledge of the different motives that inspired the great actors in one drama. The author consistently records all that is best in the characters of those he describes, and he pays a tribute to Aurangzib's singleness of heart which is almost enough to take the harshness from the comparison of this Emperor with Lord Curzon, made in a somewhat notorious oration.

A notice of this series would be very incomplete without a mention of the author's introductions to the volumes. These are somewhat discursive at first glance, embodying his opinions on current politics and on Indian questions generally. They are vigorous opinions, and founded on extensive knowledge and study, though, no doubt, they will find many dissentients. Of Lord Curzon, he is a whole-hearted admirer, and refuses to regard the Partition of Bengal as a mistake on the part of the statesman to whom he dedicates the series. Some of his remarks on the value of sympathy and linguistics will, however, command the ready assent of all critics.

Buddhism, Primitive and Present, in Magadha and Ceylon.—By R. S. Copleston, D.D. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 10s. 6d. net.

Buddhism shares with Christianity a characteristic which, whether we regard it as, on the whole, an advantage or a disadvantage, adds immensely to the difficulties of writing a comprehensive book on the subject; and this is the almost incredible variety of forms which the one faith assumes among different people all claiming to be orthodox. Bishop Copleston finds himself compelled to cut himself adrift from all forms except the traditional one in the land where Buddhism had its birth and the particular form now surviving in Ceylon, which, while it probably departs far enough from the spirit of the Buddha, is at least in nearest conformity with the earliest traditions. Even as it is, Dr. Copleston has found it necessary to re-write his book now that a second edition has been demanded. With a belief not only in the superiority of the conceptions of Christian theology, but in its concrete truth, the author in describing Buddhist ideals and doctrines, does not adopt the familiar method of constructing an interesting figure only to knock it down with one of his own weapons, but presents Buddhism to us on its merits, and where he indulges in "higher criticism" gives to Gotama all the credit derivable from an excision of all that seems unworthy of his exalted nature. We are all higher critics so far as other people's religions are concerned, but few use the destructive method with such generosity. The author uses it to depict Gotama in his most human and lovable aspects, and to show the fascination of his gentle and calm nature, which triumphs through the ages, while the intellectual appeal is lost in a quagmire of uncertainties and corruptions. The Eightfold Way, so often referred to, neither Dr. Copleston nor any other investigator has ever been able to define; the Chain of Causation, as preserved to us to-day, defies the efforts of the subtlest metaphysicians to join it up; and the horror of ignorance remains, but no sure guide to knowledge. The accretion of ritual, dogma, and tradition by which fallible disciples of every faith endeavour to keep themselves on the path of righteousness become at last the major part of the religion, and fill a large part of Dr. Copleston's book, even though he touches not Burma, Siam, Tibet, China and Japan. On the limitations of the pure faith the author speaks firmly, and he does not find that Buddhism has been a great power in favour of virtue. But he concludes:—"I can heartily say that there are individuals who, as Buddhists, are setting a good example and doing their best to teach others what is good. Such ought not to be offended if I reckon them rather as friends of Christianity than as opponents. As promoters in the long run of Christianity I reckon all who are diffusing knowledge of the true tenets and history of Buddhism; all who are letting light, by whatever channel, into the dark places, all who are insisting on what is excellent in Buddhism, when they do so not only to praise Buddhism but to get virtue practised." A representative of a great rival faith could not take up a more generous attitude consistently with his professions.

A Modern Reading of St. Francis of Assisi.—By Katherine Collins. London : C. W. Daniel. 1s. net.

Had he not been a saint of the Church, it is just possible that St. Francis would have become the founder of a new religion. He had most of the qualities of those who have founded the greatest religions in the world; yet it would be difficult to define those qualities. There have been greater ascetics, preachers as eloquently earnest, men as devoted, but to very few has it been given to impress his followers with the belief that his message was from God himself. As has been the fate of other great teachers, so with St. Francis, the followers who have adhered most scrupulously to his name and rules have often drifted farther from him in spirit than some to whom his name was unknown, and in the little volume before us Miss Katherine Collins attempts to reconstruct his teaching on the spiritual side. Her volume is an interesting and useful little book, helping to an understanding of the richness of the "simple life."

Behind the Veil.—By Ethel Rolt Wheeler. London : David Nutt.

This is a collection of short stories of psychic experiences, not quite so weird as the illustrations would lead the reader to expect. The first half of the book consists of "Reincarnations"—which are not introduced with any explanation of how these supposed memories of a former life come to be recorded, but are simply clear-cut little cameos of a woman's life in various ages of history very sharply visualised. The subject of "The Wheels Reversed"—a man growing younger instead of older—was dealt with some years ago by Mr. Eden Phillpotts in a humorous vein which really is more suitable to so extravagant a fantasy. It is a book of strange fancies dressed in suitable but not exaggerated words.

The Times of India Directory, 1909.—The *Times Press*, Bombay. The *Times* directory is so well known to everybody in the presidency that there is little to record at each annual appearance except that it is better than ever. It is the Indian Whitaker and the Post Office Directory rolled into one, and represents an enormous amount of careful work. It would be difficult to name any occupation known among men in this country wherein the information contained here would not be useful, while one could name a hundred wherein it is indispensable. It would even afford interesting and profitable employment for many idle hours.

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CO-OPERATION, RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

LEGISLATIVE and Executive centres have done their work. A Co-operative Act has been passed, rules and by-laws have been framed, obstacles have been removed and all facilities provided. Everything is ready, and the word has gone round the Districts that Co-operative Credit Societies are to be started.

The District Officer handles the levers of an engine strange and untried. It devolves upon him to study its capacities and limitations, to discover the method and direction of its application, and to seek the driving power at his command. There is no great difficulty in selecting a few villages, the most suitable on *a priori* grounds, and inducing a certain number of persons of reputed honesty to consent to register themselves as a Co-operative Credit Society. But such work would be worthless. A Co-operative Society having its origin in a desire to please authority, and working, as such a society must, on "jo hukum" lines, is a contradiction in terms and a farce in fact. It should be enough, it may be argued, to make the people understand the aims and methods of the Society—to demonstrate the great advantage that must result. Once they are made to realise all that the Society offers, self-interest may be relied upon to make them ardent converts.

How far this view is from the truth, experience has shown. Sir Horace Plunkett has placed it on record that in Ireland he held fifty meetings before he could get a single Society formed. If the Irish villagers proved so impervious to the persuasions of an Irishman of Sir Horace Plunkett's ability, it is not to be expected that the British officer will find his task easier in the Indian village. The difficulties are well known, and it is unnecessary to catalogue them here. What is more important is to attempt to trace the strategy and tactics that have enabled co-operation, where it has

proved most successful in Europe, to triumph over obstacles and opposition, possibly not so great in degree as those that confront the movement in India, but not altogether dissimilar in kind.

It will be best to confine the enquiry to the credit aspect of Co-operation, since it is that alone which immediately concerns India.

On the threshold it is necessary to distinguish. Urban Credit Co-operation, as seen in European Societies framed on the models of Schultze Delitzsch and of Luzzatti, is homogeneous in its nature, self-centred and self-contained. It aims at nothing outside itself; it works upon material ready to its hand, and in an environment already prepared for its reception. Its clients are largely men connected with business or the professions, and its humblest members have received education in school or in contact with the life of cities. Its aim, generally speaking, is not moral, or religious, or educative, but essentially economic, the provision of cheap credit. It makes its appeal to self-interest, the self-interest of men whose sight is not blurred, and whose hands are not bound, by the restrictions and limitations of village life. A movement so simple and direct in aim and operation drops easily into its place in the life of cities; it can make its own way, and is largely independent of external forces of traction or propulsion. The development of co-operation in agricultural credit presents phenomena of a far more complex nature. It is the antithesis of the above. It stands on a higher organic plane. It cannot be isolated; it is not pursued for itself alone; it is heterogeneous in its nature. Even within the sphere of economics it goes very far beyond the mere provision of cheap credit; but it is outside economics altogether that it finds both its own vital principle and the influences that are most essential to its growth.

The motive of Raiffeisen was social, moral, educative and religious, fully as much as it was economic. An idiosyncrasy of Raiffeisen? Possibly, but one that he has so woven into the bone and fibre of the institution he created, that we constantly find naive expressions of surprise on the part of his imitators, who, working with an instrument which they imagined to be merely economic, found social and moral regeneration growing beneath their hand. When the history of the Co-operative movement in Europe comes to be written, it will be noted as a curious instance of the blindness of

proximity and of pre-occupation that the social and moral aspect of the Raiffeisen Society, and the movement it inaugurated, should have been so frequently eclipsed by the economic. If an institution is known of its works, the villages of Europe that testify to the magic of the Raiffeisen Society and its successors in thrift and in petty finance speak no less eloquently of its influence upon the practical morality of village life, the promotion of steadiness and sobriety, and the spread of education. The latter results are not, as they have sometimes been considered, a mere corollary of the former. The tone of village society does not necessarily improve with financial prosperity. The one effect is as necessary a result of the Raiffeisen Society as the other, and the institution is so designed as to co-ordinate the two, success in the one being impossible without success in the other.

As the work is not merely economic work, so the methods are not merely economic methods. Those whose view was most limited to the economic aspect have never achieved success in the formation of these societies without the aid of friends and allies to whom economics were a secondary interest. As the institution is known of its works, so too is it known of its friends. Who are they? Not Commerce, Industry, Finance, but Philanthropy, Education, and Religion. If a division of labour can be made between the three, it may be said that Philanthropy has contributed the original conception, the brains and the little money that was required. Education has prepared the way, and Religion has supplied the motive power. In nine villages out of ten the brunt of the day has been borne by the village priest or clergyman, and the village school-master. Without them there has been little progress worth the name; where they have worked as isolated units, diffusion of the movement has been slow and painful; where special efforts have been made in primary and agricultural education by the State or by organised societies, progress has been more rapid; where the Church as a whole has put its heart into the work, the country has been covered with Credit Societies in an incredibly short space of time.

A rapid review of the history of Rural Credit Co-operation in the countries of Europe where it has attained the greatest measure of success, will suffice to bear out these conclusions.

In Germany, the home of Agricultural Banking Co-operation,

the Raiffeisen movement began in the middle of the 19th century, and its wonderful development synchronises with the organisation of the whole elaborate system of secondary and elementary agricultural instruction in that country.* Apart from "Advanced" and "Secondary" Education we find under the head "Elementary":—

1. Farming schools.
2. Agricultural winter schools.
3. Special lower agricultural schools.
4. Rural improvement schools.
5. Special courses of lectures.

Mr. Pratt observes that "Agricultural Co-operation was an indispensable sequel to agricultural instruction."† The converse is more pertinent to the present enquiry. Agricultural instruction was (and always is) the indispensable condition of agricultural co-operation.

It has already been noticed that the aim of Raiffeisen was as strongly religious and moral as economical, an attitude which secured for him the support of the Church party. Among the most important offshoots of the Raiffeisen banks proper, Mr. Wolff notices ‡ the Silesian Banks, the Bauernvereine, and the Haas Banks. The first were denominational; the second had a distinctly "religious flavour." "Mother church, if not clearly set forth upon their banner, is known to be invisibly present in their councils, and to have a hand in directing their work."§ The third were totally devoid of any religious or moral element, being a compromise between the Schultze and Raiffeisen systems. Their success was great, but it was achieved at the cost of exclusion of the very poor, so that their case is hardly relevant to a consideration of rural banks which are intended mainly for the very poor.

The Schultze Delitzsch Banks already referred to are town banks, but they have also a considerable agricultural clientèle. In Posen and West Prussia they "dispense a great deal of agricultural credit," but here it appears that they are run mainly by Roman Catholic priests.¶ If we turn to Italy, the "nation in banks," the same phenomena present themselves. The efforts of the State in primary education were supplemented by the strenuous work of powerful

* The Organisation of Agriculture, Pratt, p. 44.

† Ibid p. 47.

‡ People's Banks. Wolff. pp. 154-157.

§ Ibid. p. 159.

¶ Ibid. p. 153.

agricultural syndicates, which made the diffusion of technical instruction one of their principal objects. The "travelling professor," too, is to the fore,* holding conferences and gatherings of agricultural labourers, conducting experimental and demonstration farms, editing monthly journals, and giving personal consultations.

The relation of the banks to religion is particularly instructive. The Wollemborg banks professed no religious element in their aims, but they were very ready to accept the help of the curé. Of Wollemborg's first venture, Mr. Wolff remarks, "In June 1883, having secured the support of in all 32 members, including of course the curé, he opened his pioneer bank."† The "of course" speaks volumes. Under these conditions progress, as the theory under discussion demands, continued sure but slow. At the end of ten years, in 1893, there were only 84 Wollemborg banks in operation. It was when the church took up the movement on grounds of high policy that the boom began. In 1890 Don Cerutti, adopting the Wollemborg constitution *in toto*, founded the first Catholic Bank. In five years, there were 348. And the increase continued in geometrical progression. Mr. Pratt records that "of the 904 village banks in Italy in 1897, 779 had been founded by the Catholics during the preceding five years."‡ The policy of the church in supporting the movement, as declared at the tenth Italian Catholic Congress at Genoa in 1892, was "to raise morally, intellectually, and economically the condition of agriculturists."§ It is noteworthy that the economic aspect that stood first in 1883, took the third place within a decade.

In France, after 30 years of strenuous effort had resulted in failure, it was the work of the "Syndicats Agricoles" that rendered agricultural banks in the shape of "Annexes" a possibility. These syndicates spread information and instruction, aiming more particularly at the higher education of the French agriculturist.¶

They issued periodicals and almanacs by the best men in popular style, published text books and established libraries, engaged professors of agriculture to lecture, gave free consultations, carried out analyses and directed experimental farms, and stimulated elemen-

* The Organisation of Agriculture, Pratt, p. 115.

† People's Banks. Wolff, p. 263.

‡ Organisation of Agriculture, Pratt, p. 119. § Ibid. p. 118. ¶ Ibid. p. 72.

tary instruction in agricultural subjects in the primary schools. Educational measures cleared the way for rural banks which no effort had availed to establish hitherto. But, as in Italy, rapid progress was impossible till the movement was brought into organic relation with village religious life.

M. Durand, whose aims were moral and religious in a high degree, started the "Caisses Rurales" on pure Raiffeisen lines, enlisting the strenuous support of the Roman Catholic church. Of these banks Mr. Wolff remarks that they "have multiplied as co-operative banks never multiplied before."*

The "Catholic" Banks also have shown great vitality. Holland and Belgium tell the same tale. The forces essential to the establishment of rural banks were agricultural education and religion. In Holland the Royal Commission of 1886 recommended State aid and self-help, and the first requirement of the former was an effective system of agricultural and horticultural education.† Raiffeisen. Banks were started by the Agricultural Unions, and the Church was quick to seize the opportunity. In Belgium the clerical party took the lead. "Coming into power in 1884, the Clerical party at once created a Department of Agriculture, and began to spread a very practical and thoroughgoing system of agricultural education."‡

When education had gained the necessary hold, Raiffeisen banks were started. In 1894 there were four: by the end of 1901 there were 286.§ Nearly all agricultural associations, we are told, have been "more or less inspired, if not actually brought into existence (and in many cases even still controlled, by some parish priest or other)."¶ In Hungary, during the latter part of the 19th century, the condition of the peasants passed from bad to worse, and the need for rural co-operative credit became urgent. At the Budapest Conference of 1885 it was resolved to take action, and Village Banks were established. The aim was purely economic, and appears to have been pursued with more than usual blindness to the other aspects of these institutions, the social and moral results taking the authors altogether by surprise.‖ The necessary conditions were, however, present so that this initial lack of intelligence was

* People's Banks. Wolff. p. 341.

† Ibid. p. 100.

¶ Ibid. p. 93.

† Organisation of Agriculture, Pratt. p. 126.

§ Ibid. p. 91.

‖ Ibid. pp. 150, 151.

powerless to harm. The country possessed a "thorough-going system of agricultural education,"* with Agricultural Colleges and Schools, and the efforts of the State were supplemented by the National Agricultural Society which organised exhibitions, circulated literature, and extended scientific knowledge on agricultural subjects.†

We learn, too, that the secretary of the bank was usually either the Protestant clergyman, the Roman Catholic priest or the village schoolmaster.‡ Religion and Education aiding, it is not surprising that 400 banks were established in two years.§

In Austria, Co-operative credit banks have proved a great success. Between 1897 and 1900, 800 banks sprang up, and they now number over 2,000.¶ Here also the State has enlisted the indispensable aid of priest and pedagogue. Besides the Civil Service "the priests and teachers in the elementary schools are all required to enlighten the rural population on the importance and the utility of co-operative organisation and to do all they can for its extension."|| The church supported the movement with its customary energy; witness an extract from the statistical report of the Italian National Co-operative League: "The admirable work in the way of active propaganda and wise organisation carried out by the Catholic party, a work that is well deserving of emulation."***

In Servia, between 1893 and 1903, agricultural banks to the number of 228 came into existence. The State system of Education was reinforced by the Central Union, which issued practical handbooks, pamphlets, and agricultural newspapers, and arranged lectures on agricultural subjects. The Secretary is the ubiquitous parish priest or schoolmaster.††

With a glance at Ireland this brief review must close. Co-operative Credit in the villages is making rapid progress, and the question has been approached in a genuinely scientific spirit, the Educational and Agricultural problem being treated as inseparable.

The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction is endeavouring "to establish a vital relation between industrial education and industrial life."‡‡

* Ibid. 164.

† Ibid. 154.

‡ Ibid. 145.

§ Ibid. p. 147.

¶ Ibid. p. 165.

|| Ibid. p. 166.

** Ibid. p. 168.

†† Ibid. pp. 211, 212.

‡‡ Ireland in the New Century, Sir Horace Plunkett. p. 130

It was found that the first step when the economic mission started fourteen years ago was to educate the farmers in a "large number of general ideas bearing on the productive and distributive side of their industry."*

In Ireland, as on the Continent, rural co-operative credit has found in educational and religious influences the indispensable conditions of success. The local priest is usually the Chairman of the bank, and the work of the Roman Catholic Church in this respect meets with generous recognition from Sir Horace Plunkett.†

This rapid scramble across Europe has not, it is believed, omitted any country in which co-operative rural credit has met with a substantial measure of success.

In every case it has been seen that the progress of evolution has followed not one line only, the economic, but concurrently the parallel lines of education and morality. It is true that promoters of the movement have repeatedly lost sight of any aspect but the economic, but in such cases they have succeeded only through the efforts of others who brought the institution into organic relation with instruction and religion.

The inter-relation is so obvious and the partnership so inevitable, that the appeal to experience in support of it may seem almost a work of supererogation.

It is inconceivable that a highly complex economic idea should be able to penetrate the bucolic mind without an adequate measure of general education and special training; and not even the most bucolic intelligence, once it had grasped the idea, could conceive of a village bank, that openly professed its sole capital to be honesty and morality, as standing in any but the most intimate and vital relations with the moral and religious life of the village. If the village conscience withheld its sanction, the vaunted capital and security alike would vanish into thin air.

In India, as in Europe, to proceed on purely economic lines would be to march with open eyes on failure complete and ignominious. Co-operative credit is not an institution that can be imposed upon the village community by external authority, like a Sanitary Committee or even a system of Police. It can survive

* Ireland in the New Century. Sir Horace Plunkett, p. 133. † Ibid. p. 119.

only as bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. The main problem appears to be, how to readjust the relations subsisting between the moral and intellectual side of village life, on the one hand, with the material, on the other, in such a way as to enable the whole to assimilate into its organism the principles comprised under the term Co-operation. A scientific or philosophic solution of this problem cannot be attempted here. For practical purposes it is enough to proceed on analogy, and to enquire how far there are available in India agencies corresponding to those that enabled co-operative credit to strike root in the villages of Europe. How far are Religion and Education in a position to repeat in India the work they have done so well in Europe? Can the leaders of the great religious sects be induced to take up the work in the spirit that animated the ruling powers of Roman Catholicism? And if they approve the policy, have they the organisation to put it into practice? Who is to take the place of the curé and the clergyman?

The Swami Narayan at once suggests itself on account of its centralised system. Mahomedanism could effect much when the difficulties in respect of interest are once removed. European missions should put their heart into the movement. Not only should the work appeal to any religious body for its own sake, but the sect that commands a network of such organisations cannot fail to derive therefrom greatly increased influence and material advancement. In one way or another, difficult as the task must prove, the active co-operation of the great religious bodies must be enlisted, or Europe tells its tale in vain.

If the prospect of assistance from Religion is less bright than is altogether agreeable, there is at least the magnificent organisation of Education which should prove not less effective in the East than in the West. The priest and the pedagogue have been the fingers and toes of the movement in every country in Europe, and if the local religious leader in India is unable to afford the same measure of assistance, it would seem that part of his burden must fall upon the schoolmaster in addition to his own. Minor officials in any of the executive departments can do nothing. Their appearance in Banks would instantly wreck the spontaneity and equality that is their essential characteristic. Everything points to the schoolmaster, for a long time to come, as the organising Secretary; and

in that case one of the first steps must be to train the schoolmaster for the post. European experience has proved, and it is universally accepted, that the educational and agricultural problems are inseparable and susceptible only of a *pari passu* solution. Education, primary and agricultural, is not only a condition precedent of agricultural co-operation, but derives in turn the strongest stimulus from such organisations, more particularly of the Raiffeisen type. The necessities of the situation call upon Educational organisation in India to bear an even greater share of the burden than it bore in Europe; the non-executive character of its officers renders it the only powerful State organisation that can possibly do the work: its capacities and opportunities for such work are superior to those of any other existing Government agency, and the aims and methods of the movement are so essentially educational in character, and so closely bound up with general educational progress, that the two must be in constant overlap and interaction.

As in other countries, the State Educational system will no doubt need to be supplemented by agricultural organisations, syndicates and unions. There is immediate need of the services of a body of economic missionaries to act as the pioneers of Co-operation, men who will go to selected villages and stay there, a month if need be, till they have saturated the leaders of the community with the idea, and trained the local schoolmaster to take their place when they leave.

The history of the movement, as seen under a very wide variety of conditions in the various countries of Europe, leaves little doubt as to the essential elements of success. Its authors vary, and their objects vary, but the extra-economical forces constantly in operation are Education and Religion. It is, of course, impossible to hypostatise these forces, or to assign definite limits to the respective parts they play, but for purposes of popular discussion, which loves its problems in a nutshell, the propositions here advanced are briefly these. The cutting edge of the movement in Europe has been Education, and the driving power Religion. The same must be the case in India. If the forces of Religion are more difficult to concentrate, and the driving power available is consequently less, it is necessary in compensation that the cutting edge should be more keen, and its application more cunning.

H. TUPPER.

A LITTLE KNOWN & REMARKABLE LIBRARY.

THE initiation of this remarkable Library dates back to the days of the Old East India Company, as a minute, culled from the first page of a venerable Minute Book, in possession of the Library, attests. It runs as follows:—

At a Committee for superintending the Library, the 2nd Dec. 1801.

Resolved : That all printed books at present dispersed about the house and warehouses not in use in the several Departments be deposited in the Library—together with any articles of curiosity that can be collected either at the House or Warehouses.—J. R.

The “House and Warehouses” were those occupied by the East India Company in its early days, and were situated in Leadenhall Street. It was by a vote of the E. I. C. Directors in 1801 that the Library was formed, Sir Charles Wilkins being appointed Librarian on a salary of £1,000 a year.

The Services in India were invited to aid in the creation of an institution which should become a permanent receptacle for everything connected with oriental lore, so as to assist members of the services while at home on furlough, and also to promote the study of everything connected with the East. Munificent donations thereupon flowed in from members of the Company, amongst which Mr. Colebrook’s gift of his priceless collection of Sanscrit Manuscripts, comprising nearly two thousand volumes, deserves special commemoration. In shaky hand-writing and venerable ink we find recorded in the curious old Minute Book of nearly a hundred years ago a recommendation dating back to April 1807, which, because of its quaint interest, we cull entire.

The Committee having received from Dr. Wilkins a satisfactory account of the conduct of the Doorkeeper to the Library (notice the big “D”) recommend that he be allowed a gratuity of Fifteen Pounds for the past year, and that the same be paid to him by the Secretary.

It is assumed that the "gratuity" was an amount paid over and above the regular bread and butter wage, and that by it the worthy Company kept the door-hinges efficiently oiled. Ten years later we read—this time recorded in another hand-writing—that the Committee had under consideration a letter from Dr. Charles Wilkins stating that the current business of his department "has of late been greatly impeded by the immense crowds of persons of all classes who by various means obtain leave to visit the Library and Museum any day in the week except Sunday," and submitting that a set of regulations be established under which the curiosity of the public be liberally gratified, and many other inconveniences, beside the one noted above, obviated.*

The Committee adopted the suggestion and the public were allowed to visit the Library for inspection on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays. So had the fame of this sixteen-year-old institution spread. Under date of March 11th, 1818, a minute informs us that the Committee had taken into consideration a letter from Dr. Wilkins (letter dated the 16th of October last, so that the "consideration" had been leisurely—no "return-of-post" spirit animated it), suggesting "more space for the accommodation of books and natural history objects to make the Library and Museum more worthy the attention of the numerous visitors, amongst whom are to be numbered persons of rank and science of all Nations." This suggestion was referred to the consideration of a Library and House Committee.

An entry on April 6th, 1824, is of peculiar interest. It reads thus:—

Your Committee have had under consideration a letter from Mr. John Leydon, representing that his son the late Dr. John Leydon of the Establishment has bequeathed to him a very large Library of Oriental Books and Manuscripts, annexing a description of same, and stating the circumstances which induced him to offer them to the Court for such sum as they may in their liberality deem proper to allow him. Your Committee have also had before them a Report from Dr. Wilkins, the Company's Librarian, submitting the result of an examination made by him of the books in question, and offering several

* See Report of the Library Committee, made to the Secretary of State in Council 1877.

suggestions as to their future disposal, in the event of the Court's consenting to purchase the same; and your Committee, advertng to the above-mentioned Report from Dr. Wilkins, to the services rendered to the Court by the late Dr. Leydon, and to the situation in which his family are placed by his death, are induced to recommend to the Court that Mr. Leydon be offered the sum of five hundred pounds (£500) for the books, and MSS. in question; and that in the event of his accepting such offer, the said books &c. be distributed in the manner pointed out by the Company's Librarian (what the "manner" was there is no minute to shew).

A later entry records that the £500 was paid through Messrs. Smith, Payne and Smith on account of Mr. John Leydon at the request of Sir John Malcolm in 1824. One of the first entries in the old minute-book pertains to a door-keeper, likewise the last, made on March 16th 1832, which records the recommendation that "George Evans, one of the messengers on the establishment of this house, be appointed to supply the vacancy and that he be allowed a salary of £90 per annum." If these minutes indicate nothing else they at least credit the Committee-men with conscientiousness, some sense of fair play, and a recognition of their own *raison d'être* as a committee. The venerable East India Company's first Librarian seems to have had a wistful regard for the inquiring public, and to have evinced a gentle courtesy towards it that did credit at once to the man and the scholar. It would be interesting to know how often the Committee assembled, and what was the fate of the other minutes, supposing such to have existed—and we can scarcely imagine that they did not, so wide is the interval between the entries.

During the hundred years that intervened since the initiation and constitution of the Library, vast treasures both in MSS. and printed books have come into its possession from the Orient, by gift and purchase. Some of the more famous collections bestowed by their Collectors we shall notice presently, as opportunity occurs. Before proceeding farther it may be as well to locate this remarkable Library, gathered by divers means from Eastern lands and peoples.

A turning off Parliament Street, passed by the 'buses running up to Oxford Street, is Charles Street, and on the right hand side

stands a substantial-looking block of buildings known as "The India Office." Entering by the last swing door of this building, ascending the steps, passing the watchman in his little lookout office, and turning sharp to the right, one comes after a few steps along the corridor to the lift run for the convenience of all whom it may concern to the various floors of the building. After the lift-passage but one short flight of stone stairs is left to climb, and the visitor is in the heart of the Library and facing the table supporting the book in which he must enter his name and address. Should he not be known to any of the Staff and be without an introduction from members of the Service, he need not trouble to enter his name but had better quickly make his exit, for there is no seat for him in the Reading Room of the Library. If, on the other hand, he comes provided with the introduction, or is personally known to any of the Staff, the most pleasing old-fashioned courtesy will conduct him to a comfortable seat, and make him feel that he is a welcome and honoured guest at whose disposition in the Reading-Room are the books and manuscripts gathered in the entire building. There is nothing of the flunky about the India Office Library official. From the highest to the lowest each is, in his way, a gentleman. We use this praise after due deliberation and personal acquaintance with the humbler members of the staff, whose duties consist for the most part in fetching to and carrying from the Reading Room the volumes required by students. These custodians of Imperial treasures magnify their office and by their courtesy of demeanour, intelligent interest in the individual requirements of readers, frequently resulting in prolonged and patient search through the General and Special catalogues of the Library, and their cheerful alacrity, together with their manifest pride in the valuable books and manuscripts committed to their charge, commend themselves to all who have need of their assistance, as worthy successors to the ancient Doorkeeper whose "satisfactory" conduct obtained for him the grant of fifteen pounds from the Old East India Co., as set forth in the early minute already quoted.

We now turn our attention to the Library itself, accompanied by one of the assistants, the Departmental Clerk, Mr. Wm. Miller, whose life-time has been spent in the service of the Library. As we pass with him through the doors closed to us but for his magic

sesame, we are conscious of a delicate aroma as of a mingled myrrh, cassia and spikenard, suggesting a gentle distillation of aromatic plants, or of the smoke of costly incense, and by it we are transported from this common-place London with its common-place aims, to a land of ideals and idylls, of passion and poetry and fantasy, the land of the dreamer of dreams and the seer of strange visions. And yet we are only in the general Library where are gathered books from all lands, many of them European and in European languages, on all subjects more or less connected with the East.

The following statistics are likely to interest the statistically inclined ; they are to the reflective mind exceedingly suggestive; they were kindly supplied by Mr. Miller at our request and are the latest figures obtainable, and they give, as will be seen at a glance the particular and general figures which the ordinary reader would probably wish to know, should such visit the India Office Library.

India Office Library.

General European Side	...	...	...	...	41,000 Vols.
Tracts (contained in 872 Vols.)	...	...	...	(about)	8,000 Works. '
General Oriental Side	...	...	...	...	13,000 Vols.
Tracts (contained in 1840 Vols.)	...	...	...	(about)	18,000 Works.
Sanscrit MSS.	...	...	...	...	3,280 Vols.
Arabic and Persian MSS.	...	...	...	...	3,586 "
Miscellaneous MSS.	...	...	...	...
(Various Collections in Various Languages)					(about) 3,000 Vols.

SUMMARY.—

European Side	...	...	...	...	...	49,000 Works
Oriental "	...	...	...	...	...	31,000 "
MSS....	...	...	...	...	...	10,000 "

						90,000

There are about three miles of shelving in the Library.

Leading out of the General Library is the Iron-Room, distinguished by members of the staff as the 'Back-Settlements.' It is a very instructive division. Here are ranged the Rolls' Publications, compiled by order of the Master of the Rolls, from letters preserved in the Archives of various countries. The first issue appears to have been made about 1857. The room contains about 1,500 to 1,600

volumes of calendars and State Papers. The thought intrudes itself upon us that here indeed is a record of human nature at its best and worst, a monument to its wisdoms and follies, its virtues, vices and eccentricities: a scroll, presenting a record of such fantastic tricks, as might well make angels weep: of such "daring deeds of rectitude, and scorn for miserable aims that end in self," as might well cause the morning stars to sing together for joy and call forth the music of the spheres.

Leaving the Iron-Room and its historic documents we are again in the Central Library, and standing before the famous Tripitika, or sacred scriptures, the Chinese rendering of the Buddhist sacred books. A Chinese book is in appearance very unlike an European book. One we handled, which has been presented by the Chinese Government, was not bound at all, as we understand binding, but in a curious case tied up between boards suggesting at first glance an antique fan rather than a book. Some two thousand bound volumes of Tracts in all the languages of the East is an unique collection and one of great intrinsic worth. The same observation applies to the publications of the Hakluyt Society, an extended selection of voyages and travels from any that have ever been published. These are translated into English and issued by the Society at regular intervals, and are of deep interest to all such as wish to become acquainted with the records left by *bôna fide* travellers in foreign lands, of the traditions, customs and manners of strange peoples. Here diligence and painstaking have brought to a focus the observations of the seeing eye and the reflective mind, and placed them at the disposal of the untraveller. Reaching down one of these volumes haphazard we find its title to be: "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque," by Fanny Parkes. The pictures are delightful, the descriptions accompanying them equally so, and as we replace the volume we wish that a few hours of leisure were at our command that we might turn over the leaves of this delightful book.

There is a small Fiction department we notice, and inquiry elicits the information that its possessions are Anglo-Indian books, by famous writers. Here we see the works of Mrs. Steele, the accomplished authoress of the "Potter's Thumb," "The Hosts of the Lord," and many other popular and high class novels. This

lady, we hear, frequently visits the Library, and is learned in the languages of India. Here, too, are Rudyard Kipling's productions, valuable first editions, and the works of Meadows Taylor, together with those of the well-known Indian writer, Chatterjee. The members of the Service constantly avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to familiarise themselves with fiction bearing on Indian social life, so that it is but seldom that the fiction shelves are full.

A remarkable division of the Library is that containing the world's folk-lore. Many of the volumes are issued by the Folk-Lore Society which is doing such good work in sifting the grain from the chaff in traditions and legends, and clearing up the mysteries of words, thereby adding to our acquisition of truth.

Passing out of the General Library along the corridor on our way to the General Oriental Library, we notice, in glass cases on either side, the publications of most of the learned Societies of Europe, we may say, of the world. We observe, too, bound volumes of the reviews, periodicals and newspapers from all parts of India. In the Oriental Library are classified from thirteen thousand volumes of Eastern literature. One of the most interesting of these is the *Adi Granth*, or Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs. Amongst the curious objects in the Reading Room we were shewn the complete apparatus on which this Bible is carried. It suggested to us a miniature model of a four-post bedstead, with bolsters, pillows and draping complete. On one of the pillows the native reader kneels, propping up his sacred book on the smaller bolster-shaped pillows. Reverently thus he ponders the holy writings, and who dare say that his meditation is other than helpful to his soul and the souls of his companions? And here it will not be considered out of place if we allude to the work of the Bible Society. A good example is furnished by an assembly of shelves of Bibles which have been translated into all Eastern languages Sanscrit, Bengali, Panjabi; Oriya, Pushtu, Marathi, Khasi, and so on, to the number of five hundred.

In another Department we are introduced to from three to four thousand Arabic and Persian Manuscripts (as distinguished from printed books) in cases. Those responsible for the care and safe custody are now engaged in preparing them for the binders. It is a

long and laborious work, demanding erudition, skill and no small amount of patience. In this room is the valuable Orme's Collection, consisting of Topographical Manuscripts, diaries, etc., all rich in valuable information hitherto unpublished. We are permitted by our guide to handle, with reverential care, the *Masabih*, a celebrated Arabic book, written in the fourteenth century. The last page of the book is bordered with the imprints of seals, impressed at various times by its various owners. At a glance it would be quite easy for a novice to mistake the imprints for old post-marks.

One of the most valuable, remarkable and interesting collections of Oriental Manuscripts is that gathered together with great patience, industry and at large expense, by Brian Houghton Hodgson, and presented in 1838 to the Library. A few words concerning the late Mr. Hodgson may here be permitted. He was for many years British Resident at the Court of Nepal, a member of the Institute of France; Fellow of the Royal Society; a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. He died in his ninety-fifth year. Sir William Wilson Hunter says of him: "Had he died seventy years previously he would have been mourned as the most brilliant young scholar whom the Civil Service has produced. Had he died in middle life he would have been remembered as the masterly diplomatist who held quiet the Kingdom of Nepal and the warlike Himalayan races, throughout the disasters of the Afghan War. Had he died at threescore years of age he would have been honoured as the munificent Englishman who enriched the museums of Europe with his collections, enlarged the old boundaries of more than one science, and opened up a new field of original research. He outlived his contemporaries. In 1883 the learned Italian, Count Angelo di Gubernatis, when introduced to him, exclaimed: "Surely not the veritable Hodgson, the founder of our Buddhist studies. He, alas! is dead these many years." In 1889, when Oxford conferred on him her degree of D. C. L., the Sheldonian rang with welcome to the beautiful white-haired scholar who seemed to have stepped forth from a bygone world. Many of his honours came to him when young: some arrived too late. . . It was as British Resident at an Indian Court that Hodgson earned his highest claims upon the nation. His contributions to scholarship were of three kinds. He was the largest and most munificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts

and vernacular tracts that ever went to India. . . His magnificent liberality enriched not only the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies in Great Britain and in India, but also the Institute of France and the Société Asiatique de Paris with treasures which have not yet been completely explored. He tells in a letter to the Bengal Asiatic Society how he collected over sixty MSS. and texts which he is despatching to the Society and hopes they will be found as intrinsically valuable as they are bulky. 'I procured them,' he wrote, 'from Archives of the Buddhist Monastery of Sayambhunath, and from the poor traffickers and monks who annually visit Nepal. Many of the works are mere fragments and practically destroyed by time and dirt—popular tracts suited to the capacity and wants of the humbler classes of Society, among whom they were found not without frequent surprise that literature should be so common, in such a region as Tibet, and that it should be so widely diffused as to reach persons covered with filth and possessed of not one of those thousand luxuries which, at least in our ideas, go before the great luxury of books, nor can I account for it unless by supposing that the hordes of priests, secular and regular, with which the country swarms, have been driven by the tedium of this life to these admirable uses of their time. The invention of printing the Tibetans no doubt got from China, but the universal use they make of it is a merit of their own. The poorest fellow who visits this valley is seldom without the religious tract, and from every part of his dress dangle charms, made up in slight cases, whose interior exhibits the neatest workmanship in print.' Referring to the abundance of MSS., specimens of which he then forwarded, Hodgson comments on the universal use of writing in Tibet as scarcely less remarkable than the wide diffusion of printed books. These MSS. he had obtained from the humblest individuals, and their numbers and variety are worthy of note. The printing of Tibet is performed by wooden block presses which, however, are often beautifully engraved. Their writing exhibits fine specimens of very graceful penmanship."

Another famous and valuable manuscript collection is that made by Lieut.-Colonel Colin Mackenzie, at one time Surveyor-General of India. The characters are Tamil, inscribed on palm leaves. Through a considerable part of his career Mackenzie

collected in person the various MSS., visiting in the course of his surveying operations almost all the remarkable places between the Krishna and Cape Comorin, and being accompanied in the journeys by his native assistants, who were employed to take copies of all inscriptions, and obtain from the Brahmins of the Temples, or learned men in the towns or villages, copies of all records in their possession of original statements of local traditions. When not himself in the field, Colonel Mackenzie was accustomed to despatch his native agents into different districts to prosecute similar inquiries, furnishing during their absence either in English or in their own language to be subsequently translated, reports of their progress. Their personal expenses were in general defrayed by the department to which they were attached, but all extra expenditure and the cost of all purchases were defrayed by Colonel Mackenzie himself. The outlay thus incurred probably exceeded a lakh of rupees, which sum was liberally sanctioned by the Court of Directors for the purchase of the documents. The collection contains 1,568 manuscripts in all, and to arrive at anything like an estimate of its value to Indian history and statistics, it would be necessary for an individual to possess a familiarity with fourteen languages and sixteen hundred characters, which can scarcely be expected from the moderns.

The Burmese collection, said to have been presented by the King of Burmah, is unequalled from many points of view. "It consisted, originally, of about 1,150 numbers," says Professor V. Fausbell, "800 are now missing, having either been looted during the War or lent out at the time when the Library was removed to the India Office. The collection consists of three sorts of MSS. Some are purely Pali MSS. some purely Burmese, and some Pali and Burmese; namely, commentaries on Pali books. The Pali MSS. are generally carefully and nicely written in bold Burmese characters, on long palm leaves, usually with nine lines in a page and beautifully got up with gilt-edged leaves, enclosed in gilt boards, but the leaves are seldom ornamented. On the left side of the leaf is the numbering, in letters, and on the right side the title of the book, or the section, in Burmese. With only one exception all the MSS. are written on palm leaves." It is pleasing to know that many well-educated ladies, amongst them a number of "Girton Girls" with leisure at their command, are taking up the study

of Pali, and doing excellent work in translating these native writings. The Pali characters are very delicate and beautiful and we can scarcely imagine a more interesting labour for women of culture than the study and translation of Pali.

Colonel Phayre's interesting collection is another which it was our good fortune to examine. It is kept in a carefully locked case in the Reading Room, and is a complete edition, in Burmese characters, of the Burmese Tripitaka—canon of the Buddhist Sacred Books. It consists of twenty-nine volumes. One of these we inspected with the assistance of Mr. Miller. It was cosily ensconced in a cedar-wood box, padded with embossed crimson velvet, and hollowed in the centre. The volume itself was swathed about in an elaborately decorated cloth, the whole tied round again and again with amber silk. The fragrance emitted by the palm leaf book, as the wrappings were removed, suggested spikenard, myrrh, and other costly scents.

An important collection of Sanscrit manuscripts is that known as Dr. Buhler's. It is as yet untranslated (awaiting possibly the awakening of our young men and women from their charmed sleep induced by the glamour of periodical sensational fiction). We examined one work, drawn haphazard from the collection. It was written to the order of a Hindu king, and is a history of Pegu from the earliest times. It is as yet unread by the Administrators of our Indian Empire, and lies with many other MSS. doubtless equally rich in oriental history.

A collection of another kind, and the last that we shall notice, is that known as Colonel Johnson's collection. It consists, for the most part, of illuminated Indian drawings. The first book we selected to peep into is distinguished as Book 36. It consists of thirty-six illustrated pages. The vivid colourings are positively dazzling to the eyes of an European looking upon it for the first time. Representations of the shining sun light up the pages in a manner altogether surprising. The magnificent ivory tint of the flesh surpasses the flesh tints produced by such a past-master as the late Lord Leighton. The details of the work are exquisite, but the total ignorance of perspective evinced by the artists leads to perplexing and frequently ludicrous results.

We have already alluded to the cases of *Curios* placed in the

Reading-Room for the inspection of readers. In one we noticed some outline portraits, apparently embossed, of Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria. We were informed that they were produced by native artists entirely by means of their finger-nails.

Amongst other interesting objects we saw a copy of the Koran, in an outer case of jade, and an inner case of gold filigree. The sacred book was beautifully traced in MS., the whole thing was about the size of an ordinary watch.

One of the most unique objects in the Museum is a curious "Register of Tippu Sultan's Dreams." These, it is said, he caused to be recorded every morning; they were then interpreted to him, and when it pleased him he guided his conduct according to the revelation; when, on the other hand, he did not care to attend to its purport, he ignored the teaching. Here, too, are his Memoirs.

A complete scroll of minute manuscripts, beautifully illustrated, was unrolled for our close inspection. When coiled and inserted in its tiny case it is scarcely larger round than a lead pencil. Good sight and steady hands must have belonged to the expert calligraphers who produced these rare specimens of their art.

There is no object in the Reading-Room looked at with more interest and admiration than the Great Stone found among the ruins of Babylon and inscribed in Cuneform characters which tells not only its own history but that of the fall of Babylon the Great. This stone is mentioned in "Helps to the Study of the Bible" and is well shewn in Plate 49. The description we give word for word by this admirable text-book.

Three columns from a Cuneform text of Nebuchadnezzar II, King of Babylon, (B. C. 605-561) (Inscribed in archaic Babylonian characters upon a black basalt slab found among the ruins of Babylon, now in the India Office).

his text records the genealogy and titles of Nebuchadnezzar, and declares his reverence for the gods Marduk and Nebo. To build a temple in honour of the god Marduk, Nebuchadnezzar has brought together gold, silver, precious stones, bronze, costly woods, &c.; and he describes the great works, architectural and other, which he undertook to the glory of his gods, the beauty of his city, and the good of his people. He restored and completed Ingur Bel and Nimilti Bel, the great walls of Babylon, which his

father Nabopolassar had begun, and he fortified Babylon on all sides.

In concluding our paper on this little known and remarkable library we would point out that the statues, paintings, and framed prints in its possession have been carefully described by William Foster, Esq., B. A., in a handy little volume of some sixty-six pages, indexed under the heading, Subjects, Artists, and Rooms.

In the Store-Rooms on another floor are many valuable books, which are reserved for presentation as opportunity occurs to various Learned Societies. It is to be hoped that they will not all speak at once, or we may be regarded as he who troubleth the Library.

JAMES CASSIDY.

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A HINDU DEVOTEE.

(Continued from our last Number.)

WHEN sheep were introduced into New Zealand, the voracious parrots there became carnivorous, and their beaks, instead of tearing up fruit into small pieces, tore up the flesh of sheep. "Parties of them now go a-hunting, worry a sheep till exhausted, then dig down through the back, and so wound the intestines that death results." The tongues of New Zealand honey-eaters have extremely thin edges on the right side and the left, and are "rolled up in different ways to form more or less complicated tubes" for the purpose of sucking up nectar from flowers, and of coaxing insects from them in order to have a monopoly of the feast. The ancestors of our whales, porpoises and dolphins originally "played and fed and brought up their children and died upon the shores of ancient seas, till they grew more and more fond of it; they could live nowhere else. Like the sirens of old the sea-mother wooed and wooed and won them for her own. She grew more and more persuasive, her blandishments more and more telling, so that one after another of their family traditions were relinquished, *quite unconsciously*, and one after another new features were substituted, each one of which bound them to her more and more closely, till eventually, they forgot they ever lived on land, and *with this memory passed away all desire* for any life other than that which they now lead." How difficult it is for evolutionists to get rid of teleological and volitional language! Darwin made the old lumber-room of facts regarding cross-breeding and other variations extremely interesting, by using the words "Struggle for Existence" and "Natural Selection." In spite of strong protests on the part of some scientists, no one has yet been able to get rid of these words and coin others for these phenomena, excluding the operations

of volitional and purposeful intelligence. Remove all teleological and volitional language from evolutionary literature, and it becomes again a dust-heap of rubbish, no-way interesting.

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Evolutionists talk of birds, fishes and land animals learning particular lessons. It is said, for example, that birds which were "unsuccessful in producing coloured eggs *learnt* the lesson of repeated robberies, and sought crevices in rocks or unoccupied burrows in the ground—themselves undertaking the work of excavating when necessary—and they have survived, and their children make their homes in holes in rocks and burrows in the ground to this day." Assume the existence of a sub-conscious self and you have the necessary mechanism for such strong lessons and passing them on to the offspring.

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It is this sub-conscious self which reproduces so faithfully about 800,000 barbules on the inner web of a crane's quill feather, and more than a million on the whole feather. It is this self which reproduces the ridges, grooves and dot-like papillæ—acting like prisms—on the feathers of a bird of paradise, a peacock, or a humming-bird. It is this self which reproduces all protective and ornamental coloration, the powers of mimicry, and defensive and offensive weapons. It is this self which teaches the albatross to soar and sail and wheel about in all directions "without the slightest movement of the wings," and to sweep past with ease and grace, "often within a few yards, every part of his body perfectly motionless except the head and eyes, which turn slowly and seem to take notice of everything." The aerial evolutions of the passenger-pigeon, the sweet music of the skylark and its spiral ascents, the wonderful nest of the tiny oven-bird, weighing as much as eight or nine pounds, are all the work of this self-suppressing self—upon the development of which depends the illumination of the Yogi.

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The apparently homogeneous and amorphous, but really the creative part of every one of us resides in this self. It transformed gills into lungs, and enabled the teeth and the gullet and the stomach and the intestines to become modified in accordance with the nature

of the food to be ingested and digested. It enabled the fins of fishes, "gradually, in response to new demands," to become "transformed sometimes into organs of touch, sometimes into weapons of offence and sometimes into organs of prehension." It enables the creatures of nature to "reflect the tone of their surroundings" and to put on various disguises. It contains the records of the council-board of sight, smell, taste and memory "which determine the menu for the higher forms of living things." It is the seat of that curiosity which is the seed of knowledge and which leads to an infinite number of experiments the results of which are, thanks to it again, never lost, though they may take time to imprint themselves on it permanently. How did the Chinese paradise-fish learn to make a froth-like nest—a little disc "formed by blowing air and mucus out of his mouth"? What makes the abdominal skin of the cat-fish tender and spongy as soon as the eggs are laid? Who stows young skates in oblong "mermaids' pinboxes," and gives the elliptical egg of the chimera the outer appearance of a piece of sea-weed? Who takes notice of the risks to which pelagic and demersal eggs are exposed, and multiplies accordingly the ling's eggs into about one hundred and fifty millions and the cod-fish's into about ten millions? Professor Miall tells us that the choice between embryonic and larval development depends "upon the number of the family and the capital at command. There are animals which are like well-to-do people who provide their children with food, clothes, schooling and pocket-money. Their fortunate offspring grow at ease, and are not driven to premature exercise of their limbs or wits. Others are like starving families, which send their children, long before their growth is completed, to hawk matches or newspapers in the streets." The stock-taking is done and the choice made by that part of the karmic self which is sub-conscious and which lies midway between the superconscious self and the conscious self.

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One of the most thoughtful passages in Herbert Spencer's autobiography is that in which, after referring to the problems presented by the Universal form under which concrete things, from suns down to microbes, exist, that is to the phenomena of space, he says: "Concerning the multitudes of remarkable relations among lines and among spaces very few ever ask—Why are they so? Perhaps

the question may in later years be raised, as it has been in myself, by some of the more conspicuously marvellous truths now grouped under the title of the 'Geometry of Position.' Many of them are so astounding that but for the presence of ocular proof they would be incredible, and by their marvellousness, as well as by their beauty, they serve, in some minds at least, to raise the unanswerable question—How came there to exist among the parts of this seemingly structureless vacancy we call Space, these strange relations? How does it happen that the blank form of things presents us with truths as incomprehensible as do the things it contains? . . . Theist and Agnostic must agree in recognising the properties of Space as inherent, eternal, uncreated—as anteceding all creation, if creation has taken place, and all evolution, if evolution has taken place." In the non-Yogi, the sub-conscious self, similarly, is a "seemingly structureless vacancy," but the Yogi sees in it what the great modern mathematicians see in Space. According to these latter, "Space of a given number of dimensions may be of various *kinds*" and "lengths in two different spaces (even where both are elliptic or both hyperbolic) differ in *quality*" as two shades of red. "As is the case with shades of red, the different possible qualities form a continuous series, and the space constants, along with all other lengths in their respective spaces share these qualities, and thus acquire a place in a continuous series. Although each space-constant is a magnitude, each differs in quality from every other space-constant." "All the points," says the Non-Euclidean Geometry, "form a series of the power of the continuum"—and it is because every one of us is a member of such a series that Yoga is possible to us.

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In scientific and philosophic speculations very little attention has been paid to the sub-conscious self—and its marvellous manifoldness. It is, to use the language of the gifted author of "Kokoro," "an aggregate or composite of inconceivable complexity,—the concentrated sum of the creative thinking of previous lives beyond all reckoning." Its phases assume, as it were, the colours of the rainbow and their derivatives, but like all colours they are resolvable into three primary ones, called, in our philosophy, Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas. Cosmically and individually Sattwa is the factor

of freedom, insight and bliss—Rajas of energy—Tamas of passivity. Passivity results in cosmic stability and individual inertia—Rajas in cosmic activity and individual passion—Sattwa in cosmic obedience to law and individual progress by means of such obedience. The three Gunas are inseparable and their interplay is the cause of the complexity of the sub-conscious self.

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In every such self resides an innate power of reflecting, through its Sattwa, the Akarmic self, for the guidance of its Rajas and for the overcoming of its Tamas. "Our adversary is our best helper" and Tamas is truly a helper in that sense. It gives us something to resist and be resisted by, and without something to resist and be resisted by, there will be little savour in our enjoyments, constituted as we are. There may be others differently constituted by their karma—but our *karma* is to fight the good fight; and the whole burden of the Gita is, therefore, "fight." Lest its meaning should be misunderstood, the scene of the teaching itself is the field of Kurukshetra; the cause of the teaching is Arjuna's reluctance to fight; and the result of the teaching is his readiness to fight. But such readiness can only be secured by turning to the Guru of gurus within us—the Superconscious Akarmic Self—which, by its omnipresent effulgence, can give us as much light and life as we care to receive. It is the mystic Ashwattha, with the roots above and the branches below—the branches on which all the existing species are but tiny leaves.

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Yogic practice consists in nothing else but this turning of the Sattwa to the Spiritual Sun—this turning of the little Sattwa atoms in the leaves to the stem and the roots for nourishment: only such turning must be steady. When great steadiness is developed, the Waishwanara in us merges in the Tajasa, in order that the latter—undistracted by outer activities—might learn to merge itself in the Pragna and pass gradually, through the Pragna, into the Ineffable where the Cosmic self and the Individual self are one. In other words, the conscious merges in the sub-conscious, and the latter in the superconscious.

"Ye are gods," said Jesus. Ye are of "the race of God," said St. Paul. "If the tree is Amrita, the fruit must be Amrita," says Guru Nanak. "The infinite exists potentially in every being," says a thoughtful Japanese Buddhist. "In Buddhahood . . . are united psychical atoms innumerable. They are one as to condition—yet each has its own independent existence." "The doctrine of extinction," he goes on to say, "refers only to the extinction of illusions . . . the Infinite All Soul is the only eternal principle in any being ; all the rest is dream." Max Müller was, therefore, right when he said Buddhism was merely popularised Vedanta. There was One in the beginning—if there ever was a beginning—and the conscious, the sub-conscious, the super-conscious are but aspects of that One; and hence the unity of the trinity, and hence also the freedom to become what we desire to become by identification with it.

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Recognise the sub-conscious self, and desire in plants and animals—and potential desire in the potential life of crystals and other humble things becomes a key for understanding many an obscure phenomenon. If instinct is "organised memory" and memory itself "incipient instinct" according to modern psychologists—if, as Herbert Spencer says, "the human brain is an organised register of infinitely numerous experiences received during the evolution of life, or rather during the evolution of that series of organisms through which the human organism has been reached"—why may we not go a little further, and say that the acts which give us our registered experiences are themselves the offspring of desire *sub-conscious* or conscious, and subject to the law of Karma ?

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Is there no desire in plants ? What about their "marriage customs" ? Whence came the bright-hued blossoms when insects appeared ? Whence the honey to bribe them ? "Whenever," says Mr. Grant Allen, "any variation in the right direction occurred by chance, natural selection immediately favoured it, so that in the end it comes almost to the same thing as if the plant deliberately intended to allure the insect ; and, for brevity's sake, I shall often so word things." We have not ceased to be tyrants—even though we have become scientists. What right have we to suppose that our

form of consciousness is the only form of consciousness, our form of desire the only form of desire, throughout the universe? I shut my door against a thief, and I am credited with a desire to keep my property safe. The buttercup shuts its door against thievish ants while alluring those insects that can help in cross-fertilisation, and we credit its "calyx of five sepals" to chance, and remain satisfied with our explanation!

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"In ultimate analysis," says Huxley, "it appears that a sensation is the equivalent in terms of consciousness for a mode of motion of the matter of the sensorium. But if inquiry is pushed a stage further, and the question is asked, What, then, do we know about matter and motion? there is but one reply possible. All we know about motion is that it is a name for certain changes in the relations of our visual, tactile and muscular sensations, and all we know about matter is that it is the hypothetical substance of physical phenomena, the assumption of which is as pure a piece of metaphysical speculation as is that of a substance of mind." That being the case, why should we say that a buttercup has no desire or that a sensitive plant has no consciousness? The desire or the consciousness may differ in degree, but it does not differ in kind.

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What would we think of a few algæ or fungi judging of all terrestrial life by their own? What would we think of the moon judging of the sun's revolutions by her own? And yet, because in our little lives, we see various ups and downs unintelligible to us, we conclude either that the world is all at sixes and sevens—or that the only sane creed, or no-creed, is Agnosticism. Why not say that the play is only begun, and wait till the curtain is down on the last act?

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"In the earliest rocks. . . . we get few traces of any plants but the lowest. . . . By the age when the coal was laid down, however, ferns, horsetails and many gigantic extinct plants with solid stems had begun to exist, but few or no flowering plants, except conifers had yet been developed." Would it have been fair for a scientist in those days to assume that there would never be any true flowering plants or succulent fruits?

Would it be fair to assume that because we are now in the house of Tamas we can never pass into the house of Sattwa—or project ourselves into infinity? Like Isis of old, I have been searching for the fragments of Osiris in the various realms of science, but have found most of them in mathematics. “*Omnium naturæ arcanorum conscios*,” said the great Kepler. I have read to-day the article on Geometrical Continuity in Vol. XXVIII. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and this is what it says of Kepler’s views on that point. “Of sections of the cone, he says, there are five species, from the *recta linea* or line-pair to the circle. From the line-pair we pass through an infinity of hyperbolas to the parabola, and thence through an infinity of ellipses to the circle. Related to the sections are certain remarkable points which have no name. Kepler calls them foci. The circle has one focus at the centre, an ellipse or hyperbola two foci equidistant from the centre. The parabola has one focus within it, another, the *cæcus focus*, which may be imagined to be at infinity on the axis within or without the curve. The line from it to any point of the section is parallel to the axis. To carry out the analogy we must speak paradoxically, and say that the line-pair likewise has foci, which in this case coalesce as in the circle, and fall upon the lines themselves; for our geometrical terms should be subject to analogy. Kepler dearly loves analogies. . . . And they are to be especially regarded in geometry as, by the use of however absurd expressions, classing extreme limiting forms with an infinity of intermediate cases, and placing the whole essence of a thing clearly before the eyes.” Our Sankhya and Yoga and Vedanta proceeded on this principle. The Sankhya dealt with the phenomenal world and reduced all phenomena into Prakriti (Matter that is ever becoming) and Purush (Spirit free from transformations). The Sankhya has a series of fives, and in every one of them there are these two foci—Prakriti and Purush.

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The Yoga philosophy introduced the idea of an asymptote—a tangent at infinity—and showed how we, the conic curves, could approach it. Yoga had also its infinitesimal calculus, and dealt with the integration of the differentials of the mind. As in the calculus, so in Yoga, one evanescent is as good as another, and self-integration is the result of the disappearance of what is evanescent.

Lastly came Vedanta—and what does that correspond to in mathematics? Boscovich's first principle is this: "All varieties of a defined locus have the same properties, so that what is demonstrable of one should be demonstrable in like manner of all, although some artifice may be required to bring out the analogy between them. The opposite extremities of an infinite straight line . . . are to be regarded as joined, as if the line were a circle having its centre at the infinity on either side of it. This leads up to the idea of a *veluti plus quam infinita extensio*, a line circle containing the line infinity. Change from the real to the imaginary state is contingent upon the passage of some element of a figure through zero or infinity, and never takes place *per saltum*. Lines being some positive and some negative, there must be negative rectangles and negative squares, such as those of the exterior diameters of a hyperbola. Boscovich's first principle was that of Kepler by whose *quantum vis absurdis locutionibus* the boldest applications of it are covered, as when we say with Poucelet that all concentric circles in a plane touch one another in two imaginary fixed points at infinity. . . Ocular illusions due to distance . . . lead up to or illustrate the mathematical uses of the infinite and its reciprocal, the infinitesimal." They also illustrate the uses of Vedanta. Mathematicians admit that the higher geometry—based on the principle of Continuity—has taught us much of the "secrets of nature"—but those who have not a word to say against Kepler or Boscovich have a great deal to say against Vedanta. And yet Tertullian cried out: "*credo quia absurdum*." The mysteries of the Holy of Holies often appear as absurdities to the worldly.

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Newton himself did not reject the principle of Kepler, followed later on by Boscovich with such remarkable success. "He gives an unexplained general construction for the axes of a conic which seems to imply that it has asymptotes. In all such cases, having equations to his loci in the background, he may have thought of elements of the figure as passing into the imaginary state in such manner as not to vitiate conclusions arrived at on the hypothesis of their reality.' He had the idea of imaginary points implied in the algebraical geometry of Descartes, in which equations between variables repre-

senting co-ordinates were found often to have imaginary roots. He called the asymptote a tangent at infinity.

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Weisman in his "Germ Plasm" imagines what he calls biophores in the determinants which rule the activities of every cell, by working in ids. Each id is a microcosm—and Weisman calls it a microsome. The ids collect in idants or chromosomes, and the chromosomes collect in *chromatin*, the germ plasm in the nucleus of a cell. Thus we have a series of seven—cell, nucleus, chromotin, idants, ids, determinants, biophores. Our philosophers said that Sattwa was the Upadhi of the Satchitanand—that is, it was the biophore—psychophore and irenophore, to invent two more terms. (In St. Matthew XXV., 20, the Greek for "enter thou into the joy of thy Lord" is εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαράν τοῦ κυρίου σου but the Greek word translated "peace" and used so often with "grace" in the Epistles, conveys perhaps a better idea of Anand.) Had Weisman used such simple words as "life-bearer" or "life-carrier" or "life-vehicle," scientific men might not have even partially accepted his theory, but being dressed in Greek terms it has not been wholly rejected. We also, therefore, should clothe our ancient scientific ideas in Greek terminology before we can obtain a hearing. If Sattwa is Weisman's biophore and more, what is its opposite pole Tamas to be called? May we not call it the thanatophore (bearer of death), tenebrophore (bearer of darkness), and thlipsophore (bearer of tribulation) to indicate the relation of opposites? Pythagoras used to say that "the union of opposites in which consists the existence of things is harmony," and the conjunction of Tamas with Sattwa, its negative, produces the phenomenal world.

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Rajas may well be termed the principle of friction. When there is friction between Sattwa and Rajas, Tamas predominates; when between Sattwa and Tamas, Rajas predominates (for Sattwa and Tamas when equal are opposite and neutralise each other); when between Rajas and Tamas, Sattwa predominates. This is said in the Gita analytically, but in actual fact the three are aspects of one and the same thing—Prakriti—and are reproduced in every phenomenon. The three are also seven. Let us call Rajas the kinesiphore,

and we have the biophore, the psychophore, the irenophore, on one side—their opposites, the thanatophore—the tenebrophore—the thlip-sophore on the other, and the kinesiphore midway between the two.

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Armed with these learned words, we may say that Hindu philosophy believes the whole of our phenomenal world to be due to the interplay of three opposites. In that world, life is inseparable from death. In that world light, material and psychical, is inseparable from darkness. In that world happiness is inseparable from misery. The biophore implies the existence of the thanatophore—the psychophore of the tenebrophore, the irenophore of the thlip-sophore. Again, each one of the six implies also the existence of the remaining five and of the kinesiphore, and the kinesiphore in its turn implies the existence of the remaining six collectively and severally. Under the influence of these seven—the phenomenal world is the scene of endless transformations—but all these transformations are possible only so long as the luminous-eyed but non-moving Purush sits on the shoulders of blind but evermoving Prakriti. The two appear as one in the phenomenal world, and that appearance (Maya) is the root of all mysteries, the *ungrund* of Boehme, “whence issue all contrasts and discordant principles, hardness and softness, severity and mildness, sweet and bitter, love and sorrow, heaven and hell.” Like their mother, however, they are, in relation to Parabrahma, mere appearances—mere shadows.

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It is said that in the pianoforte “the extremes of instrumental fabrication meet, since this is at once a string instrument and an instrument of percussion, having the hammer of the drum to strike the string of the lyre.” The pianoforte is merely the dulcimer matured, and Maya may well be called the dulcimer or pianoforte of Brahma. Why should we grudge Him the possession of such a sweet instrument to while away His time?—if the Timeless has time.

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The number seven was called Parthenos and Athene by Pythagoras, because within the decade it has neither factor nor

product. The seven planets, according to him, formed the seven golden chords of the heavenly heptachord. Is it for the heptachord to complain of the musician who plays on it? He brought it into being; and if it has any complaint to make, it can make it only to Him—for there is none else here or anywhere.

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The eighth note in music "is in some sense a reproduction of the first, as all intervals beyond it are reproductions of the eighth . . . reproductions, that is, uniting identity and difference." Here, then, is a comparatively sober science and art indulging in a paradox not unlike the mathematical paradox of Kepler and Boscovich. Nicolaus of Cusa is also said to have directly taught the principle of the *Coincidentia Contradictorium* which underlies much of the teachings of Vedanta.

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Diophantus founded Algebra when he laid down that minus multiplied by minus produces plus. Euclid and his predecessors founded geometry when they laid down their definitions of point and line—which are contradicted by our faculties of observation. Burke may be said to have founded modern political science by railing against the logic of the French Revolutionists and praising the illogical constitution of his own native land. What a poor affair, after all, is our finite logic! "For what a contradictory array of opinions," writes Professor James in his essay on "The Will to Believe," "have objective evidence and absolute certitude been claimed! The world is rational through and through,—its existence is an ultimate brute fact; there is a personal God,—a personal God is inconceivable; there is an extra-mental physical world immediately known,—the mind can only know its own ideas; a moral imperative exists,—obligation is only the resultant of desires; a permanent spiritual principle is in everyone,—there are only shifting states of mind; there is an endless chain of causes,—there is an absolute first cause; an eternal necessity,—a freedom; a purpose,—no purpose; a primal One,—primal many; a universal continuity,—an essential discontinuity in things; an infinity,—no infinity: our science is a drop, our ignorance a sea."

Prakriti is to Purush what a Prism is to Light—and the Gunas are its prismatic colours. Professor James has given us the prismatic colours which Prakriti has assumed in philosophy, and a similar list can easily be compiled for every science and art,—for every department of life and death—for every department of light and darkness—for every department of joy and sorrow. Just as “from any equation in spherical trigonometry another can be deduced by aid of the polar triangle”—so, by aid of the triangle of the Gunas, we can deduce one triad from another, and the Gita has shown what exact and beautiful classifications result.

(To be continued.)

ZERO.

THE MOON IN THE GREEN PARK.

A SONNET OF LONDON.

THIS side the way, the teeming arteries
 Resound with clamour of the traffic's stream,—
 And that, the moon, a honey-coloured gleam
 Suffuses through the film of leafless trees
 Recalling old forgotten truths till these,
 The jostling wheels of play and commerce, seem
 Phantasmagoria of a futile dream
 Beside immutable realities.

Her truth is fresh, as when her various law
 The nomad's wandering eyes to wonder woke,—
 Her spell is strong, as when the Druids saw
 Her beauty softening through the sacred oak :
 We share the fervour of their deathless awe,
 And bend ecstatic underneath her yoke.

ETHEL WHEELER.

DEVAKI.

IN an ancient Indian city on the river Jumna, when the current has trended towards the right bank and the water is low, there is an expanse of sand to be crossed by the daily bathers, before the stream is reached.

On this the pious mendicants spread out their mats, and quietly await the dole of grain the passers-by are sure to supply. There are others who have equally embraced poverty, but who perambulate the city—begging. At night, however, they too seek the bank, which they consider holy ground.

As they wander about, a few use fixed cries to which they always adhere. One kindly old fellow, some years back, was wont to sing a courteous distich, which admitted of being literally translated :—

“ Give, or not give,
Oh, happy live.”

The sitters in the sand, however, were mute. Their little kerchiefs were laid close by them, for the receipt of grain ; and their beseeching eyes may have pleaded for them, but they uttered no sound. For they were mostly devotees who had decided that life was an illusion, and that its concerns had no longer any legitimate claim on their attention. The ritual of minor divinities, at times, being customary, became also obligatory ; but the main thing was constant contemplation of an awful but shadowy cause, whose presence they thought most palpable in the swoon and hush of mid-day, or when at night the heavens opened and displayed the star-lit fields of Space.

Now at this place of resort, some time before the Mutiny of 1857, there lived two bankers, brothers, Chuni Lal and Moti Lal ; men of good character, honourable in their business, and benevolent to the poor. Moti was of a thoughtful, taciturn disposition, and in

this respect, a contrast to Chuni who, well-fleshed and of full habit, took his day's work or his day's leisure with unfailing cheerfulness, and had plenty to tell and to hear, with his gossips, who stopped at the large recess, where he sat at his books. But though Moti Lal was of slighter build than his brother, he was possessed of the elegant, lithesome frame, common in his race, if not in his calling ; whilst his chiselled features had a gentle, impassive expression, particularly taking. His wife, a good looking and modest girl named Devaki, was devoted to him in every way, but had given him no family.

Moti, from a boy, had always been interested in shrines and holy places and religious festivals ; and as, at a similar age, an English lad would have been excited at walkers on stilts, or an Italian with a monkey, he regarded with awe those who, for a penance, held an arm aloft permanently, or stood amongst fires, or had renounced human speech, or affected gifts of prophecy or even thaumaturgy.

The sterility of Devaki was naturally a source of disappointment, but instead of rendering the husband dissatisfied, or leading him to think of another union, it only supplied an additional reason to the many which had been long brooding in his mind, that his failure of spirits and love of solitude indicated that he had a call, a specialcall, to the ascetic life.

But if the denial of children was viewed by her husband as a discipline intended for himself, poor Devaki was not prepared for such acquiescent submission. She still dreamed of a day when she should place a little son on the knees of him she loved so much, and thereby secure a warmer return of affection, and strengthen a sympathy which would render their domestic life a joy to both of them. But the gods, so closely associated by the Hindus with every household incident, had first to be appeased, flattered and persuaded.

Women in India, even quite young ones, often go on pilgrimages ; they travel in large companies ; relatives, more or less near, are found ready to accompany ; and there is protection in the nature of the errand itself.

Devaki had more than once visited some of the minor holy places in the hope of an alleviation of her defect ; but to her great

disappointment, no good results ensued. At length she determined, with the full permission of her husband, to join a small caravan of pilgrims hailing from the south, which was bound for the Himalayas, there to seek out, by difficult ascent, the cradles of the twin rivers so sacred in their associations, so beneficent in their bounty—the Ganges and the Jumna; to worship them where, amidst ice and snow, they issued from their not widely divided peaks.

Exposed to the biting cold, the rarefied air, in a scene unfamiliar and amazing, its features indicating, even to the eyes of science, a stupendous exercise of Force; and prostrate as Devaki lay before weather-beaten shrines on the brink of the glacier, the stunned woman from torpid plains brought her petition before she knew not Whom, vaguely surmising from the silent peaks of snow, —even from where she was, still higher and more distant—that the fairy tales of her theology left behind all, a mysterious Being beyond her comprehension, and indifferent to her prayer. And as she rose and gazed around, a chill struck into her heart to think how inconsiderable her desire, how unapproachable He, from Whom its fulfilment was asked.

It was during the absence of Devaki from her home that Moti informed his brother, from whom he had not concealed his strong leaning towards the ascetic life, that his intention had reached such maturity that he could no longer delay to abandon the world, which had faded from him like a dream, on awaking; and that he proposed taking his seat by the river, before his wife returned, lest the pain of parting from her should in any way weaken his resolve. The story of the Neoplatonic philosopher who refused to have his likeness taken, because it would be honouring a body he had found the principal obstacle to spiritual growth, well illustrates the morbid, mental condition which had suggested to Moti Lal that poverty, exposure and inaction were the best means for subliming the thoughts and subduing the desires. But Moti had no aspirations to feats of penance, or expectations of attaining overbearing piety.

His part of the country was greatly devoted to the cult of Vishnu, under the forms of Rama, and, with less fervour, that of Krishna; and his hereditary business of banking, his marriage and connection with the world, had prescribed for him a humbler course.

He had joined, indeed, the sect called Ramavuts, but this did not involve more than frequent invocations of the Avatar he adored, and when he retired from society, the abnegation of caste.

Chuni, on hearing how near renunciation was, ventured to suggest that it would be well to wait to see whether Devaki had undergone any physical change. But Moti remarked, with a sorrowful smile, that if he had had a son, his piety would not have been equal to the sacrifice he was called upon to make ; and it was better he should avoid temptation. More Chuni could not do ; he dared not, for the life of him, oppose a wish inspired by the gods. He had been taught from childhood to expect misfortunes, if he attempted so impious a task. And so, after receiving Moti's directions about property, and preparing necessary documents, and promising also the affectionate protection of Devaki, Chuni embraced Moti for the last time. A propitious date had been chosen by the family Brahmin, and at midnight, the brothers started for the river. At a little distance, they stopped and looked back at the old house with its carved facade, where they had been boys together. But what was the use of tears ? Onward, through the silent streets and the silent sleepers—for many had brought their cots outside ; onward, past the night watchmen, and through narrower lanes, where some jackal was in search of offal, and skulked off to join his troop, who greeted his arrival with desolate howls ; onward, onward, to sandstone steps leading down to the bed of the sacred Jumna. And there, Moti sat down in his coarse mendicant attire, with his gourd drinking-cup by his side, and his necklace of wooden beads falling on his bosom, and turning towards the water, commenced a murmur of *Sita-Ram, Sita-Ram, Sita-Ram*, in the strange battology of his religion.

The choice had been made, and the solitary return of Chuni completed the incident.

Once afterwards, in the winter months, a constituent coming on pilgrimage from distant Ujjain, brought a draft to the banking house. The portly Chuni was seated in his recess opening on the pavement.

" And where is Moti Lal ? " cried the visitor.

" Have you not heard ? *In the sand,*" was the reply. For a moment, the stranger lost breath, and staggered, but with an

effort, became calm, and chose a new topic, instead of one not admitting of discussion.

When the renunciation had been decided upon, the proposing ascetic had particularly enjoined that Devaki, on her return should be given to understand that her husband had gone to inspect a branch-firm in Rajputana ; that she should be left to find out for herself what had really become of him, and that there was to be then no condolence with her, nor were the circumstances of his voluntary mortification to be justified or explained, or even unnecessarily mentioned.

And Devaki came home from her pilgrimage. The awe created by the immensity of the mountain scenery faded gradually, and her interest in the more domestic legends she had heard read from the Bhaktamala, revived with power. Her fellow travellers, too, bent on omitting no usages at smaller shrines, on the return journey, both by their precepts and practices helped to replace her thoughts in their usual groove.

And when Devaki looked back on her tour, she seemed to have performed great things, and she felt full of hope and elated by expectations.

Hearing of her husband's absence, she calmly and patiently awaited his re-appearance. It may seem strange that the women of the house should not have tattled of what had taken place ; but it had been impressed upon them that the affair was one of supernatural agencies, and that any interference would be visited by misfortune and punishment. Devaki usually went to bathe, with a few others, to a rather secluded spot on the river bank ; but one morning, wishing to distribute alms, she joined the larger throng and passed amongst the rows of mendicants. In due course, she caught amongst their faces one so intensely familiar to her that she became momentarily bewildered, and unable to grasp the fact of recognition. She was hot and cold in rapid succession, and faint and breathless ; and then her faculties recovered themselves, and her situation was revealed to her. She was virtually a widow ; her husband had devoted the remainder of his life to the unseen powers ; and it would be grievous sin to attempt to divert his thoughts from the objects on which he had placed them. She hurried forward, bathed in the sacred river, scarcely conscious of

what she was doing, and staggered home, a heart-broken woman. Never again did she join the main body of bathers, and indeed secluded herself as much as her religious ritual would permit, performing menial offices in the house, but allowed by Chuni to distribute largess amongst the poor from a fund left for the purpose, by the ascetic. And at her request, means also were provided to enable her to feed consecrated bulls and privileged monkeys, to lay down milk for snakes, and even to supply ants with sustaining sugar.

The dull years passed away : for Moti, the solitude of the sand ; for his wife, household labour borne with a dead heart ; until at length the time of a great disturbance came, and British authority, for a season in 1857, was withdrawn from the holy city. The merchants and more important shop-keepers employed matchlock men at their own expense to protect their property ; and one banker, an influential person of great wealth, exercised such powers of administration as the circumstances allowed. This arrangement, however, was abandoned, on the arrival of a body of armed Mahommedans, who took the upper hand, but were anxious to conciliate the Hindus, and in consequence, careful not to interfere with any functions usual in a place so celebrated as the goal of long pilgrimages.

In the midst of these political troubles, Moti was stricken on his mat by the river-side with serious illness. His fellow-mendicants laid him in one of the arched recesses, adjoining a broad flight of steps leading down from the bank, and supplied him with water and grain. It was known to his family that he was ill ; but he had renounced all relationships, and they dared not interfere with the penance of his self-sacrifice. His natural gifts of shape, and the well-constructed, though lightly built frame, if developed and strengthened by exercise and open air, might have led to good health, or even long life. But a brooding disposition, and the circumstances of his sedentary calling, added to a distaste for amusement or excitement, predisposed a delicate organisation to suffer severely from an attack of pleurisy, brought on by the damp of the rains ; and which, even though thrown off, induced a feverish decline, that in England would be classed with consumption. Devaki could not tend him, could not assure him of her

love, could not assuage his sufferings by a woman's tenderness. She would be held, she felt certain, by her compeers as an unblest, barren creature, who could not retain her husband's affections, nor provide him with a son to perform the annual rites of remembrance after his death, nor aid in perpetuating his race. Oh ! the pity of it That her husband should pass from her, and no one know how much she had loved him ; that his name should not be associated with hers ; nor herself remembered for any deed of piety, such as had dignified his later life, and would undoubtedly gild his premature death.

And then a sudden idea struck her which filled her desolate heart with joy. If the idea had occurred to her a year before, it would have ended in a vague longing, because the deed it suggested was then incapable of accomplishment. The religious act of becoming a Sati or true wife, and burning on a dead husband's pyre, had been long prohibited by the foreign Government. But in the present rough and free time, might not former deeds of devotion be re-instituted—might not the rules be transgressed which there was no longer authority sufficient to enforce ?

Devaki hastened to some leading Brahmins, and informing them of all the circumstances of her case, made the proposition to them, that under their guidance and orders she should be privileged, when Moti died, to share his obsequies of flame.

The priests hesitated for a while, but soon bethinking themselves of what an acquisition of power a defiance of the Christian law would produce, they gave Devaki every encouragement. There was in the environs of the city a little grove forming part of a wooded tract, and the trees of which were gnarled and haggard ; whilst among their roots were, here and there, to be found ancient slabs, and on them, rudely sculptured, the soles of a woman's feet. Each of these slabs marked the spot where a widow had shared her husband's funeral. This grove, surrounded by younger growths, was fixed upon by the Brahmins as a suitable locality for the revival of a ceremony which had formerly always been a marked occasion for the display of their authority.

The rite of burning widows was a breach of the law of God ; a sacrilege, in the destruction of the fabric of the body designed for a holy temple ; and future generations will bless the name of

Bentinck who had the moral courage to abolish it. But the behaviour of the widow obviously affected the degree of barbarity involved in the ceremony. Where she was willing and enthusiastic there was only an abetting of suicide—a sufficiently serious offence in itself ; but where she was half-hearted, or became so at last, when measures were taken to prevent her escape, even to the beating her back into the flames with staves—the insistence of the priests amounted to murder.

Moti in his illness had no chance ; neither remedy nor nursing was offered, and he died, as indeed he would have wished to die, like a neglected animal.

And then the hour of what she deemed her triumph came to Devaki.

On a pile of firewood soaked with clarified butter, within the precincts of the grove that has been mentioned, was laid the emaciated body of the dead mendicant. And around that pile walked a woman wrapt in a single sheet of purple cloth, with light in her eyes and smiles around her mouth ; and as she walked, she distributed flowers, and gracefully bowed to an immense crowd, which had filled every point of advantage for witnessing a spectacle unseen before by most. A deep hum of applause and benediction seemed to flow around her as she moved. She circled the pyre the due number of times, and then bidding farewell to her relations, and entrusted by some of them with little presents for dear ones who had already entered the silent land,—with perfect calmness, she took her place beside the remains of Moti. He lay close to her, whom death could not disfigure more than superstition had already done. Could this uncomely skeleton represent the tender, supple form, the delicately moulded face, the beautiful youth, in short, whom a Grecian sculptor would not have disdained to reproduce in appropriate bronze ? Still it was her husband ! There was no need of priestly exhortations ; no need of confining bamboos ; no need, when the piercing agonies commenced, for cruel drums to drown a parting shriek ; deliberately, with fullest intention and blindest faith, and in silence, Devaki encountered one of the most painful of deaths.

It was a beautiful morning in September,—a break in the cherished downfall of the rains ; the earth was exuberant with

fertility, and the deep shade of the trees lay on the rank vegetation. The season, their folk-songs declare, when Indian women are more joyous, decking their hair with flowers, and swinging under the peepuls. So strong the sunlight that the murderous flames could scarcely be discerned as they ascended, and the smoke took the form of coloured mist. What a dread blot on the fair scene—these two uncalled-for deaths !

Is life so free from transience and pain that they must be sought after and embraced ?

J. W. SHERER.

THE CALIPHATE—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

“**A**S there is no theory,” says the historian of the Holy Roman Empire, “at first sight more attractive than that which entrusts all government to a supreme spiritual power, which, knowing what is best for man, shall lead him to his true good by appealing to the highest principles of his nature, so there is no disappointment more bitter than that of those who find that the holiest office may be polluted by the lusts and passions of its holder; that craft and hypocrisy lead while fanaticism follows; that here too, as in so much else, the corruption of the best is worst.”

What is true of the Papacy is true of its counterpart, the Caliphate of Islam, which, in many respects, presents a striking analogy to that institution which, from the days of Constantine far down into the Middle Ages, was the recognised centre and head of Christendom.

But before we discuss the question of the present Ottoman Sultan, let us rapidly pass in review the various phases of the development of the institution which is the centre and pivot of Pan-Islamism.

When the great Prophet of Islam passed away and his mighty spirit soared aloft, seeking ‘the fellowship on high,’ the overwhelming force which had welded into a nation the discordant elements of Arab Society, and had ‘united in one brotherhood the hearts of erstwhile enemies,’ vanished for ever from the world of Islam. The personal influence of the Master did not long survive him, and scarcely thirty years had elapsed since the death of the Prophet when the turbulent spirit of the Arabs reasserted itself and plunged the Muslims in fratricidal war.

Had Arabia been under the direct rule of the Chosroes or the Cæsar at the time of the birth of Islam, the legions of the Emperor or the Shah-in-shah would have kept the unruly Arabs under subjection and the undivided energy and zeal of the early Muslims, free from the cares of secular government, would have by peaceful spiritual means, achieved victories greater than the conquests of Syria, Persia and Egypt,

and Islam, under the shadow of the Roman Eagle or the *Duraṭsh-i-Kawīyan*, would have produced its Pauls and Peters, greater than the Pauls and Peters of Christianity. There would have been no religious schism, no dynastic wars, in fact, no question of succession (Caliphate). For Muhammad the Prophet could have no successor—"We bands of Prophets have no heirs." But like the Roman King of old, he was priest and magistrate in one. Though Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, could have no successor, that some one should fill the vacant place of Muhammad, the Chief Magistrate of the City-State of Medinah, of Muhammad, the President of the infant Republic of Islam, was an imperative necessity. Thus arose the question as to who was to succeed in the government of the commonwealth. Among the Arabs the Chieftaincy of a tribe is not hereditary but elective; the principle of universal suffrage is recognised in its extremest form, and all the members of the tribe have a voice in the election of their Chief. The election is made on the basis of seniority among the surviving male members of the deceased Chieftain's family. This old tribal custom was followed in the choice of a successor to the Prophet, for the urgency of the times admitted no delay.* Abu Bakr, who, by virtue of his age and the position he held at Mecca, occupied a high place in the estimation of the Arabs, was elected to the office of Caliph or Vicegerent of the Prophet. On his election, he said to the multitude who had sworn allegiance to him:—"Behold me, charged with the cares of government. I am not the best among you; I need all your advice and all your help; if I do well, support me; if I mistake, counsel me. To tell truth to a person commissioned to rule is faithful allegiance; to conceal it is treason. In my sight the powerful and weak are alike; and to both I wish to render justice. As I obey God and His Prophet, obey me; if I neglect the laws of God and the Prophet, I have no more right to your obedience."

Before his death Abu Bakr nominated Omar as his successor in the Caliphate, and his appointment was accepted by the people. But Omar, instead of similarly nominating his successor, entrusted this duty to six notables of Medina, whose choice fell upon Osman, son of Affan. Osman was assassinated by insurgents in 34 A.H., and was succeeded by Ali, who was proclaimed Caliph without opposition.

The husband of Fatimah united in his person the rights of heredity with that of election. "One would have thought," says Sedellot, "that all would have bowed before this glory so pure and so grand; but it

* Short History of the Saracens.

was not to be." Muawiyah raised the standard of rebellion, the chivalrous Ali was struck down by the dagger of an assassin, and the astute and ambitious Omayyade negotiated the abdication of Ali's son Hasan, whose mind was above the government of the world, and who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to a humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. Thus, by one of the strangest freaks of fortune in history, "did the persecutors of Muhammad usurp the inheritance of his children, and the champions of idolatry become the supreme heads of his religion and empire." With the son of Abu Sufyan, the Omayyade dynasty ascended the Caliphal throne, But his accession sounded the death-knell of the Republic of Islam. "Thus vanished," says Oelsner, "the popular régime, which had for its basis a patriarchal simplicity, never again to appear among any Mussulman nation; only the jurisprudence and the rules which depended on the Koran, survived the fall of the elective government. Some of the republican passion, however, which gave to the small States a certain grandeur, and to the grand an excess of force, maintained itself in the nation as well as in the army, even under the empire of the usurpers."

On Muawiyah's death, Yezid ascended the throne, according to his father's testament. "The accession of Yezid," says the Muslim historian of our day, "gave the death-stroke to the republican principle that 'the Commander of the Faithful' should be elected by the plebiscite of the people,—a principle to which the Arabs were so devoted, and which had led them to ignore the right of the Prophet's family to the spiritual and temporal headship of Islam. Henceforth the ruling sovereign nominated his successor, whose reversion he endeavoured to assure during his lifetime by the oath of fealty of his soldiers and grandees." Husain, the second son of Ali, had inherited his father's virtues and chivalrous disposition. This grandson of the Prophet, who refused the oath of fealty to the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised, and whose character he regarded with abhorrence, was massacred on the plains of Kerbelah, together with almost all the male descendants of the Prophet, by the soldiers of Yezid, the Domitian of the House of Omayyah.

Thus died Husain, the first martyr to the cause of liberty. Fourteen Caliphs of the House of Omayyah reigned at Damascus from A. H. 41—132 (A. C. 661—750.) The title then passed to Abul Abbas Saffah (the Blood-shedder), who destroyed the Omayyades and founded upon their ruin the dynasty of the Abbasides. Thirty-seven Abbaside Caliphs ruled at Baghdad from A. C. 750 to A. C. 1258. During the Tartar

irruption, which like an avalanche swept over the centres of Muslim culture and civilisation, the thirty-seventh Caliph of the House of Abbas was put to death by Hulagu, the grandson of Chengiz, with every circumstance of ignominy; and so ended the Caliphate of Bagdad. For two years the Muslim world felt keenly and in sorrow the want of a spiritual head, a want which has been pathetically voiced by Suyuti—"Thus began the year 657, and the world without a Caliph. The year 658 began, and the age still without a Caliph." Sultan Baibers, the sovereign of Egypt, appreciated the necessity of reviving the Caliphate, and he invited to Cairo a scion of the House of Abbas who had escaped the massacre of his family. The first to take the oath of allegiance was the Sultan himself. Having been formally installed as the Caliph of the Faithful, the young Abbaside prince proceeded to invest the Sultan with the robe and diploma, so essential in the eyes of the orthodox for legitimate authority. Thus revived at Cairo under the auspices of the warrior Sultan, the Abbaside Caliphate continued for three centuries more. In the sixteenth century, Selim, the great Osmanli conqueror, obtained a renunciation of the office in his favour from the last of the Abbasides.

The history of the Caliphate of Islam offers a strange parallel to that of the Empire of Christendom. If the Arabs could be styled the Romans, the Persians, with their superior culture and civilisation, the Greeks, then the Ottoman Turks may well be called the Franks of Islam. Just as in A. C. 800, the very barbarians who had extinguished the glories of the Empire produced a Charlemagne, so the Ottoman Turks, a people allied to the Mongolian horde that had destroyed Bagdad, supplied the hero who revived in his person the extinct glories of the Caliphate. By a strange coincidence, the reviver of the Caliphate was also the occupant of the throne of Constantine. If the rise of Islam had brought out the common Christianity of Europe into a fuller relief, if the fact that the 'false prophet' * had left one religion, one empire, one Commander of the Faithful, in any way led to the restoration of the Western Empire in the person of Charles, it is probable that by his association with the throne of the Cæsars the great Osmanli conceived the idea of reviving the Caliphate. Be that as it may, I am certain that the Headship of Islam inspired Selim's successor with the notion of posing as the Head of Christendom. "Nay, the intruding Ottoman himself," says Bryce "different in faith as well as in blood, has more than once declared him-

* Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire."

self the representative of the Eastern Cæsars, whose dominion he extinguished. Solymán the Magnificent assumed the name of Emperor and refused it to Charles the Fifth: his successors were long preceded, through the streets of Constantinople by twelve officers, bearing straws aloft, a faint semblance of the consular fasces that had escorted a Quinctius or a Fabius through the Roman Forum."

Before we examine the claims of the Ottoman Sultans to the Headship of Islam, let us pause awhile to enquire into the theory of the Caliphate and trace the genesis of its spiritual power. I here wish to lay stress on the fact that the Caliphate meant originally only the temporal Headship of Islam. For this is a fact which has scarcely been noticed by modern writers, and was but dimly realised by the early Muslims themselves. On assuming the supreme authority Abu Bakr refused to take the title of King or Prince. Several of the Muslims held him to be God's Vicar on earth; but he rejected the appellation. He was not Vicar of God, he said, but only the Kalifah (successor) of God's Prophet. This and the fact that Omar, his successor, adopted the title of *Ameer-ur-Mumineen*, familiar to the English readers in its translation of "the Commander of the Faithful," show that the temporal nature of the Caliphate was realised to a certain extent by some of the early Muslims. But Head of the State as well as of the Church, Muhammad was Cæsar and Pope in one. And he showed by his example how to be Cæsar without a standing army, without a bodyguard, without a palace, without a fixed revenue. "If ever any man," says Bosworth-Smith, "had the right to say that he ruled by a right divine, it was Muhammad." Thus the office of Cæsar itself became hallowed and sanctified by its association with the person of its great incumbent. The immediate successors of Muhammad trod in the path of the Master, and by their stern virtues invested the Caliphal office with a sacredness which it did not originally possess. The spiritual character of the Caliphate seemed to be fully established when Ali ascended the Caliphal chair. The ideal Muslim saint and hero, was honoured in song and in legend, throughout the world of Islam; his epithets of 'the victorious Lion of God,' 'the Peerless Knight,' 'the Gateway (Bab) to the City of Knowledge,' 'the Solver of all Difficulties,' show what a great influence the mere mention of his name exercises over the hearts and imaginations of Muslims even at this distance of time. Almost all the orders of Soofi-ism, the most spiritual section of Islam, trace their origin from him. But the halo of sanctity which thus gathered round the Caliphal office only concealed for a while its temporal nature. Even

when the spiritual power of the Caliph seemed to have attained its culmination in the person of Ali, it did not avert the assassin's blow from "the best-hearted Muslim that ever lived," and his two immediate predecessors in the Caliphate had met with a similar fate. That cool, calculating, atheistic Arab, the usurper Muawiyah, not only divulged the dangerous secret that the Arabian Caliphs might be created elsewhere than in the City of the Prophet, but at the same time also revealed the temporal character of the Caliphate. He dropped the humility which had distinguished the early successors of the Prophet, and surrounded himself with regal pomp and splendour. Thus his accession marks the important change, not in the essential character of the Caliphate, but in its meaning in the minds of the people. It is therefore that only the first five Caliphs are called *al-Khulafa-ar-Rashidun* (the well-directed, the God-guided or legitimate Caliphs) and, as the author of *Bighyat-ur-Raid* says, they alone are entitled to the distinction of *Khalifah* the others being merely *Ameers*, (Princes, Commanders) of the Faithful. When Yezid, the murderer of the descendants of the Prophet, and the desecrator of Mecca and Medinah, sullied the Caliphal throne, the severance between the temporal and spiritual Headship of Islam was complete. "The fame and merit of Muhammad," says the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, "would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the King of the earth." The holy character of the grandson of the Prophet and the glory of martyrdom which had centred in Husain, at once indicated to the Muslims where to look for the spiritual Head of Islam; and the twelve apostolical Imams, or pontiffs, of Islam, are Ali, Hasan, Husain and the lineal descendants of Husain to the ninth generation.

Thus divorced from the temporal Headship, the spiritual Headship of Islam remained in the House of Muhammad till the mysterious disappearance of the last Imam, *Muhammad-al-Mahdi*, whose name has been rendered familiar to the European readers by the exploits of the *Mutamahdi* (false Mahdi) of the Soudan. With the disappearance of al-Mahdi, and the decline of the temporal authority of the Abbaside Caliphs, the spiritual power reverted to them once more. Revived at Cairo after the sack of Bagdad, the Caliphate is a purely spiritual office till its re-union with the temporal power in the person of Sultan Selim. "The oath of allegiance* to the elected Caliph" says the

* This was called the *bai-at*; the person taking the oath placed his hands in those of the Prince, and swore that he would be loyal and faithful.

Muslim historian of the Rise and Decline of the Saracenic power "possessed a sacramental virtue, and imparted a sacredness to his personality of which we, in these times, and living under such different conditions, can have but little conception. And this sacredness was enhanced and accentuated by prayers offered for the accepted Pontiff in the mosques of Medina and Mecca. It was a fresh enunciation of the saying, "*Vox populi vox Dei*." The sacramental virtue attached to the *baiat* was based on the following idea. All the rules and ordinances which regulate the conduct of the general body of Moslems are the utterances of the voice of God. This is in substance the *Ijmaa ul-Ummat*, "the consensus of the people," and when they unanimously, or almost unanimously, choose a spiritual leader and head of the congregation of Islam, a divine sanction is imparted to his spiritual authority; he becomes the source and channel of legitimate government, and he alone has the right of "ordaining" deputies entitled to rule, decide, or to lead at prayers. It was due to this conception of the sacramental character of the Caliph's election that, long after he had lost every vestige of temporal power, conquerors and chieftains like Mahmud of Ghazni and Tughril Beg, solicited from him the consecration of *their* power. The Caliph's confirmation legitimised their authority, vested in them the lawful government of their States, and made every popular rising against them illegal and impious. This ordination was effected by the grant of a formal diploma which was invariably accompanied by a pelisse of honour (*tashrif*), often by a turban studded with jewels, swords and banners.

As to the duties attributed to the Caliphate, I cannot do better than quote, with a few verbal changes, the words of Bryce with reference to the Christian institution of the Empire:—

"To that position three cardinal duties were attached. He who held it must typify spiritual unity, must preserve peace, must be a fountain of that by which alone among imperfect men peace is preserved and restored, law and justice. The first of these three objects was sought not only on religious grounds, but also from that longing for a wider brotherhood of humanity towards which, ever since the barrier between Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, Arab and Ajam, was broken down, the aspirations of the higher minds of the world have been constantly directed. Placed at the head of Islam, the Caliph was to bind its votaries, belonging to different races and climes, into one body reminding them of their common faith, their fraternity, their common interest in each other's welfare. And he was therefore above all things, professing, indeed, to be upon earth the head of the religion of peace,

bound to listen to complaints, and to redress the injuries inflicted by sovereigns or people upon each other, to punish offenders against the public order of Islam ; to maintain through the world, looking down as from a serene height upon the schemes and quarrels of meaner potentates, that supreme good without which neither arts nor letters, nor the gentler virtues of life, can rise and flourish. . . . And that he might be the peace-maker, he must be the expounder of justice ; chief legislator and supreme judge of appeal, the one and only source of all legitimate authority." *

The *Empire* was peace ; the oldest and noblest title of its head was 'Imperator pacificus.' The *Caliphate* was peace ; the oldest and noblest name of Bagdad was *Medīnat-as-Salām*, *Dar-us-Salām*—the City of Peace, the Abode of Peace.† For the benefit of those who may be curious to know the exact words of a Muslim theologian on the duties of the Caliph, I give below, even at the risk of being wearisome, the views of Shaikh Muhsin :—

"In the eyes of all Muslims the Caliph is the instrument chosen for carrying out certain laws given to man by Divine Providence for the enlightenment of the mind, the culture of the soul, the purification of the spirit, and the fulfilment of justice. In loftiness and purity of aim the Khalifat (Caliphate) is deemed next only to the prophet's station. The Khalifah is one who can deduce the law from the Kuran and the teachings of Muhammad, and who strives to uphold it amongst the people." (Dia-ul-Khafikain, Vol. I.)

Let us now examine the claims of the Ottoman Sultans to the Caliphate. When Selim assumed the titles of 'Caliph of the Messenger of Allah,' 'Commander of the Faithful,' 'Protector of the two Sanctuaries' (the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medinah), titles which recall those of the Emperors—'Vicar of Christ,' 'Imperial Head of the Faithful,' 'Protector of Palestine'—he had more than one claim to be considered the champion of Islam. If the petty wars of Charlemagne against the Saracens of Spain could be urged in favour of his claim to the Imperial Crown, it is no wonder that the exploits of Selim, the most powerful Muslim prince of his day, the grandson of that Muhammad the Con-

* *Islam*, though associated in the popular mind with bloodshed and slaughter, is derived from the Arabic root S, L, M=peace. cf. *Jerusalem*, city of peace.

† The Caliph often exercised his influence as an international power in reconciling contending princes, and settling fratricidal strifes. The amicable settlement of the dispute between the sons of al-Malik-ul-Muazzam may be cited as an example—see Short History of the Saracens, page 408.

queror, who had extinguished the Roman Empire of the East, secured him the support of the *Ulemas*, with reference to his Caliphal claims. The chief arguments of Hanifite ulemas in support of the claims of the present Ottoman dynasty are :—

(1) *The right of the sword.* The Caliphate being a necessity, it was also a necessity that the *de facto* holder of the title should be recognised until a claimant with a better title should appear. Now, the first qualification of a claimant was, that he should make the claim; and the second, that he should be supported by a party; and Selim had both claimed the Caliphate and supported his claim at the head of an army. He challenged the world to produce a rival, and no rival had been found.

(2) *Election*, that is, the sanction of a legal body of elders. It was argued that as the *ahl-al-hall-wal-aqd* (council of electors) had been removed from Medinah to Damascus, and from Damascus to Baghdad, and from Baghdad to Cairo, so it had been once more legally removed from Cairo to Constantinople. Selim had brought with him to St. Sophia's some of the ulemas of al-Azhar, and these in conjunction with the Turkish ulemas, had elected him or ratified his election. A form of election is to the present day observed at Constantinople in token of this right, and each new Sultan of the house of Ottoman, as he succeeds to the temporal sovereignty of Turkey, must wait before being recognised as Caliph till he has received the sword of office at the hands of the ulemas. It is customary to perform this ceremony in the mosque of Aiyub.

(3) *Nomination.* Selim, as has already been said, obtained from the last Abbaside Caliph a full cession in his favour of all the Caliphal rights. As a precedent for nomination, we have the act of Abu Bakr, who on his deathbed, recommended Omar as his successor in the Caliphate. As a precedent for the Abbaside's right of disposing of his Caliphal title to Selim, we have the example of Hasan, who abdicated in favour of Muawiyah.

(4) *The Guardianship of the two Shrines (Haramain).* that is to say, of Mecca and Medinah. It has been asserted by some of the ulemas, and it is certainly a common opinion at the present day, that the sovereignty of Hijaz is in itself sufficient title to the Caliphate. Abdullah bin Zubair (d. 73 A.H.) is recognised as one of the Caliphs of Islam, as he was in possession of the Holy Cities, and prayers were offered for him from the pulpits of Medinah and Mecca.*

* Short History of the Saracens, page 96.

(5) *Possession of the Amanat*, or sacred relics. This last is an argument addressed to the vulgar rather than to the learned ; but it is one which cannot be passed by unnoticed here, for it exercises a powerful influence at the present day over the ignorant masses of Muslims. It was asserted, and is still a pious belief, that from the sack of Baghdad in A.C. 1258, certain relics of the Prophet and his companions were saved and brought to Cairo, and thence transferred by Selim to Constantinople. They consisted, amongst others, of the sword of Omar, the Holy Mantle, and the famous *Ukab* (Eagle), the green banner of the Prophet.

The claims of Sultan Hamid are even greater than those of Selim. For he has the right of prescription which Selim did not possess ; the rival Muslim princes have disappeared, and to the vast Muslim population, which has, since the days of Selim, passed under the domination of rulers of an alien faith, devotion to the Turkish Caliphate has become the test of Muslim patriotism. In one respect Sultan Hamid's position is stronger than many of the Abbaside Caliphs. In the tenth century the chair of the Prophet was disputed by three rival Caliphs who reigned at Bagdad, Kairowan, and Cordova. To-day, thanks to the followers of the Triune God, the number *three*, so hateful to the monotheistic Muslims, has been changed into one, and Abdul-Hamid reigns, the unrivalled Caliph of Islam. Nay, he is more. Abu Bakr had refused the appellation of God's Vicar. But Abdul-Hamid is held to be the Shadow of Allah on earth.

Thus, if he really is what he is painted to be by the Turkish Diarist, "there can hardly be found in the history of nations a more fortunate tyrant than the autocrat of the Yildiz Kiosk." The hackneyed argument forwarded against the Ottoman Caliphate by interested Christian politicians deserves a special mention. It is argued that the Caliph must be a Koreishite and a direct descendant of the prophet. Those who argue that the Caliph must be a direct descendant of the prophet betray a profound ignorance of Muslim history, for none of the Caliphs of Islam, if we leave out Ali, Hasan, and the Fatimides, claimed their descent from the prophet. As for the plea that the Caliph must be a Koreishite, it is directly opposed to the teaching of the Kuran, "Verily the faithful are all brethren" (Surah 49, v. 10). I am convinced that the tradition on which this argument rests, is one of the many spurious sayings of the prophet forged in the reign of the Omayyade usurper, Muawiyah. The reason why he forged this *Hadith* is simple enough. The *Kharijis* had already denounced the Omayyades as profligate pagans. They claimed the right of electing an Imam (Khalifah) from among the *universality* of

the people irrespective of clan, family or land, and sought to enforce the kingdom of God. Their number, their recklessness, and their devotion to what they considered right, made them a formidable enemy to the Damascus government.* As a counter-check against the declaration of the Kharijis, and to preclude the possibility of any of the Persian adherents of the House of Muhammad being elected as Khalifah, the astute Omayyade manufactured this *Hadith*, which does not bear the slightest historical criticism. If the Caliphate was indeed limited to the tribe of Koreish, why did the *Ansars* (the auxiliaries) of Medinah, who belonged to the tribes of Aus and Khazraj assert their claims to the office, and why was there the rash proposal of electing two independent Khalifahs (or successors) of the Messenger of God (Muhammad)? Had this favourite *Hadith* of the enemies of the Ottoman Caliphate been current at the time, no such dispute could have arisen, for the *Ansars*, as every student of Muslim history knows, did not belong to the tribe of *Koreish*. In the course of his celebrated Sermon on the Mount of Arafât, Muhammad eloquently declared the equality of all Muslims—"Know that all believers are brothers unto one another. Ye are one brotherhood." Salmân, the Persian Slave, he honoured by treating him as one of his household. "Salmân is one of us, a member of my family," is a saying familiar to the student of the Prophet's table-talk. Opposed to the Kuran, opposed to the authentic teachings of the Master, the pretensions of the Kureish cannot secure the support of the Muslims, by far the vast majority of whom are not only non-Arabs, but ethnologically allied to the Turks. If we leave out the short-lived Saiyid dynasty, all the Muslim ruling dynasties of India—Ghaznavi, Ghori, the Slaves. Khilji, Tughlak, Lodi, and Mogul—were of Turkish origin. To-day all the leading Muslim sovereigns, excepting Mulay Abd-al-Aziz of Morocco, are non-Arabs, if not Turks. It is not to be supposed that the Chinese, Indian, Persian, Central Asian, Turkish and African Muslims will pronounce a verdict against themselves in order to flatter the vanity of the Arabs. An Arab head of Islam appointed by a Power of an alien faith would certainly never do. Muhammad never vested his family or clan with any Brahmanical, privilege. Two things, and no more, were required of the candidate for *Empire*: he must be free-born, and he must be orthodox. Similarly, besides the qualification of free-birth and sanity, two things and no more, are required of the candidate for the Caliphate: he must be just, and he must be a Muslim. After the Osmanli, Selim had revealed to the world

* See Short History of the Saracens, pp. 77 and 206. also Dia-ul-Khafikain, vol. i.

the secret that the highest office in Islam was open to all Muslim.⁵ Napoleon was not wrong in considering himself eligible for the Caliphate. When he pronounced the *Kalimah* in the Mosque of Al-Azhar, as Mr. W. S. Blunt has pointed out, he aspired to the Headship of Islam. How vast a scheme was overthrown at the Battle of the Nile! Had Napoleon been washed away by the Nile flood, the charity of Christian Europe would have rejoiced at his meeting with the doom of Pharaoh. Had he won the Battle of the Nile, the credulity of Mussulman Asai would have hailed him as the *Mahdi* who would revive the extinct glories of Islam.

The argument that the Shiites do not recognise the *Turkish* Caliphate also betrays the ignorance of the outsiders who presume to take part in this domestic question of the Muslims. No Shiah, not even the Shah, can aspire to the Caliphate, for the simple reason that the Shiachs do not recognise that institution at all. Our twelve Imams or spiritual heads have come and gone, and we await the reappearance of the last, *Muhammad al-Mahdi*. The Shiah will not recognise the Imamate (Caliphate) of any Arab or non-Arab except that of the *Mahdi* when he manifests himself. But there are strong indications that the Shiachs too will recognise the Turkish Sultan as the Ameer (not Caliph) of the Faithful, for the "White Peril" which threatens the world of Islam is the most powerful engine of Pan-Islamism.

But the most powerful attack on the Caliphate of Sultan Hamid is the *Diary of a Turk*.^{*} This book, written by a cultured Turkish Muslim and published not under the veil of anonymity, has already produced on the English-speaking Muslim an impression unfavourable to the Caliphate of the Sultan. For the author shows the Sultan to be "the worst enemy of Islam, as no Muslim ruler has ever brought by his misdeeds so much shame upon his faith as he has." "His actions are diametrically opposed to the principles of Mussulman law and creed." The days are gone by when the Muslims could tolerate a Mutawakkil on the Caliphal throne, and the law of Islam orders the faithful to depose a Nero and elect a proper Caliph. Whilst the representatives of the Sultan in this country are conspicuously absent even from the religious gatherings of the Muslims, the young Turks who freely mix with their fellow believers are alienating from Sultan Hamid the hearts of the future leaders of the Mussulman world. They say that the best way of lessening the influence of the Sultan on the hearts and

^{*} By Halil Halid, M. A., Lecturer of Turkish at the University of Cambridge. A. and C. Black.

imagination of the British Muslim subjects is to give them a free excursion ticket to Constantinople. Finding that in the City of the Caliph the charm which protects them from the machinations of the spies is not the citizenship of the Republic of Islam but the British passport, they will go home disillusioned.

The Turkish Diarist scouts the idea of the "British Raj" ever succeeding in assuming the Caliphal dignity. I cannot help differing from him. The "British Raj" is as good a candidate as any other, if only its head satisfies the *sine qua non* of being a Muslim. The dream of Napoleon may be realised by a daring genius of our day. A new era may dawn for Islam. For a constitutional Caliph, by virtue of the living voice of Islam (*al-Saut-al-Hai*) possessed by him, may breathe a new spirit into its still vigorous frame.

"A philosophictheist," says Gibbon, "might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans: a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties." The world has progressed materially since the days of Gibbon, and I hope that the "thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns." Had the Kaiser, who is willing "to stand side by side with the head of three hundred million Muhammadans," been the greatest Muslim potentate in the world, he might have played the rôle of Napoleon. A cultured Japanese * has recently defined Islam as "Confucianism on horseback, sword in hand." The Land of the Rising Sun may produce the hero who, by a simple process, would weld the conquering Japs and the warlike Muslims into one brotherhood and direct the fanatical force that lie locked-up in the wilds of Asia into the paths of peace and progress, or perhaps of new conquests.

ABDULLAH AB MAMOON SOHRAWORTHY.

* M. Kakasu Okakura, "Ideals of the East," p. 4.

“ ACTUAL INDIA.” *

A FEW words will explain the choice of this title. A short time ago, a little book was published bearing this title, and its scope and general outline are admirably suited for those who are proceeding to join one of the services in India, and also for those who, residing in England, take an interest in that important portion of the British Empire. The sub-title of the book describes its chief object—an outline for the general reader. It begins geographically, and shows that India is not a self-contained country but an empire, containing probably a greater variety of languages, races and creeds than any equal area of the earth's surface. Then it describes how India is governed, and how it is defended. Other chapters deal with foreign politics, the cost, industrial development, and such-like matters. The author was, apparently, a resident at Lahore for five years, and his practical acquaintance with the details of the administration seems to have been limited to the Punjab. There are some mistakes and inaccuracies, which will no doubt be corrected in a second edition. For instance, it is stated that the successful candidates in the I. C. S. examination have two years subsequent probation in England ; the table of the personnel of district administration is incorrect ; the judicial powers of a District Magistrate are not accurately stated ; the description of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras is wrong ; these and other similar inaccuracies detract from the value of the little volume : otherwise, it is a useful introduction for the student of Indian subjects.

Now, in considering some of the vast problems which relate to the government of the Indian empire, an accurate knowledge of the actual facts is essentially necessary. Last term a member of our society read an interesting paper on the life of an Indian Civil Servant, and in the course of his remarks he mentioned a few books which everyone interested in India should read. I have no wish to cavil at that list ; indeed, I doubt whether a better list within a moderate compass could be made out ; but the “caveat” which I mentally registered when I heard the

* The substance of an address to the Cambridge University I.C.S. Society.

titles of some of the books was—read them by all means, but remember that they do not, in some respects, represent actual India. The two books which were then specially in my mind were “Asia and Europe,” by Mr. Meredith Townsend, and “New India” by Sir Henry Cotton, both interesting volumes; and yet in my humble opinion, though there is much in them with which anyone who has long resided in India can agree, there are parts which are contradicted by actual facts and experience. The defect, if I may respectfully use that term, of Mr. Meredith Townsend’s volume, is that it belongs to a past generation, and that much water has been flowing down the Ganges since he recorded some of his propositions.

He was, I believe, Editor of one of the leading English newspapers, but a quarter of a century, if not more, has passed since he left the country. Now, Sir Henry Cotton is, if I may so say, the very antithesis of Mr. Meredith Townsend; he lives, not in the past, but in the future; he lays down certain startling propositions, and from them he deduces certain equally startling prognostications. The object of his book, as stated in the preface, is to draw attention to the great changes which are taking place in India—changes political, social and religious—and to the spirit which in his judgment should inspire our policy in relation to them. This statement must by its very nature appeal to those of you, who are destined to take a share in the administration of our great dependency. The fact that great changes are taking place cannot be denied: the question of policy is all-important. And here at the outset I venture to question some of the axioms laid down by Sir Henry Cotton, and which form the bedrock of his argument. For instance, he starts with the statement that there is a waning enthusiasm on the part of English officials, and a greater friction between the governors and governed, attributable especially to the arrogance in thought and language of the ruling race. This is not my experience. I have been brought in contact with many of the Civilians, who have entered the service, say within the last 20 years, and I assert that, as a rule, there has been found in them an anxious desire to be in touch and sympathy with the people among whom their lot is cast. The fact is, Sir Henry Cotton draws no distinction between the members of our service and the members of the Anglo-Indian community generally, who (he says), like the courtiers of Canute, call loudly on the Government to restrain the waves of the ocean of Indian progress, which are dashing against the breakwater of English prejudice. I do not deny that instances of that prejudice are to be found among members of the

Anglo-Indian community (though I may parenthetically remark that isolated and antiquated instances are sometimes raked up as proof of a present prevalent custom), but I assert that they are chiefly among the younger military officers, and I deny that this prejudice is a characteristic of those who are engaged in the civil administration of the country.

Sir Henry Cotton's first chapter is headed "India's Political Problem," which is stated by him to be the growth of an Indian nation. Here, again, we meet with certain propositions, the correctness of which is open to doubt. We may accept the axiom that the test of a nation is that its members, among all kinds of partial differences, do, in the main, work together as fellow citizens, linked by common memories and associations and common objects; but when we apply the touchstone to the case under consideration, obvious flaws at once attract our notice. The fact is, Sir Henry Cotton ignores the absence of common memories and associations among the various nations which people the continent of India, and lays the full stress of his argument on what he calls their common object. It will be well to dwell on this point for a few minutes. How can there be common memories and associations between the fire-worshippers (Parsis) of Bombay, the Babus of Bengal, the Brahmans of Madras, the Marathas of Poona, the Pathans and Rajputs of Upper India, and the Dravidian races at the other extreme end of the peninsula? Let me illustrate this point by a reference to the recent Sivaji celebration in Calcutta, presided over by an able Bengali gentleman, editor of a leading Indian newspaper published in Calcutta. You will naturally ask, why should the Babus of Bengal meet to celebrate and do honour to the memory of Sivaji, a Maratha chieftain, who founded a kingdom on the other side of India, and whose only connection with Bengal is appropriately associated with the Maratha ditch at Calcutta? A Bengali journal puts it thus:—"The real significance of the Sivaji celebration in Bengal lies in the fact that the nation which the Maratha chief founded, had a very sinister reputation in this Province not quite a thousand (sic) years ago. How old is the Maratha Ditch, and what are the associations connected with it? The wild Maratha raiders, mounted on their wiry little horses, harried the country and pillaged the villages of Bengal many hundred years ago. And the dread of the Bargi—the Maratha raider—still lives in nursery song and rhyme, lulling the frightened child to sleep. The old hatchet has been buried, and the old memory has been forgotten, and Sivaji is now the hero as much in Bengal as

in Maharashtra. So the deft hand of Destiny shoots subtly to and from the shuttle into the woof and web of a people's life, muttering charms all the while and weaving the texture of a perfect garment."

I am not quite sure what is meant by that last sentence, but let it pass. The point is this: if the dread of the Maratha raider still lives in the nursery song and rhyme of Bengal, lulling the frightened child to sleep, and yet Sivaji is now the hero as much in Bengal as in Maharashtra, and his life and career are appropriately celebrated in Calcutta by a public meeting, then equally we in England may celebrate the life and career of the great Napoleon, who was the bogeyman of our nurseries a century ago, and our neighbours across the channel may do the same for Wellington and Nelson. Our Bengali Journalist holds that the movement to honour the memory of Sivaji among the Bengal is spreading day by day, and that it bids fair, and that within a measurable distance of time, to take a firm grip of the national mind. Sitting at the feet of Sivaji (he says) what is the lesson that we learn? What is the inspiration that we derive from communion with his master spirit? We are met here to-day to celebrate the memory of the great Maratha hero: Bengalis and Marathas stand upon the same political platform, animated by kindred ideals and kindred hopes and aspirations. Would this have been possible or this celebration have taken place but for the Indian National Congress? And what is the Indian National Congress, but the outcome of our methods on political and constitutional agitation? What then is the lesson to be derived from Sivaji's life? It is this—that deep moral fervour and a high spirituality constitute the fountain-source of all great and enduring achievements."

The whole speech deserves to be read (I regret that I have not time for further quotation), but two remarks may be made: students of the life and career of Sivaji may hesitate to assert that these were characterised by deep moral favour and a high spirituality; and secondly, the double aim of the celebration is to create a galaxy of national heroes and to inspire those who join in the celebration with the desire to emulate the Maratha chieftain in his opposition to the Government of his day. The latest illustration of this desire to celebrate national heroes is in connection with Guru Govind, the greatest of the Sikh Gurus, who was born in Patna (in Bengal), the house being a place of pilgrimage to the Sikh nation. So the Congress leader exhorts his Bengali fellow-countrymen not to forget the duty they owe to the "great founder of the Sikh Empire." "Let us," he

says, "enthroned Guru Govind among our national heroes, and accord to him the homage of our hearts by celebrating in Bengal the anniversary of his birth." As for emulating the Maratha chieftain—that is the crux. As Sir Henry Cotton puts it, a probability exists that the subject races of India will consent to merge their own minor differences and unite in their attitude towards their common head: the English language is the channel through which they are able to meet on one common platform and give expression to their common interests and aspirations. You will notice that there is no idea of "common memories and associations." But the object is to unite the various races and nations in a common aim—opposition to the British Government! Sir Henry Cotton thinks that this attitude of opposition to measures of Government betokens an unmistakeable yearning for nationality, which finds its utterance through a newspaper press and in the annual meetings of the Provincial and National Congresses. Let me dwell for a moment on these two points. The Newspaper Press of India (Sir Henry Cotton says) is now recognised as a kind of constitutional opposition. The doubt as to the correctness of that proposition lies in the word "constitutional." Here in England we know very well what is meant by the "Opposition." It is the party which seeks by influencing the votes of the various constituencies to turn out the Government, and to take its place. The responsibility of office is always or should always be, before its eyes. That is just the point which is absent from the "Opposition" in India. Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., who was a visitor at the late meeting of the Congress at Bombay, in an interesting communication to the Press, remarked on this point. In reference to the fact that the criticism of Government was too severe, he said—"Had the Congress to govern India, it would discover the enormous difficulty of the task, and would begin to wonder how successful the British Government had been." Mr. Alan O. Hume, one of the founders of the Congress, in a message which he sent to the late session, made some pertinent remarks on this subject. "During the past six months (he said) I have been grieved, on not a few occasions, to read statements and articles in some of our Indian newspapers, couched in quite unnecessarily harsh and aggravating language and in some cases, to my apprehension, unfair and ungenerous in their treatment of the subjects dealt with."

The above words are quoted from *India*, a weekly newspaper, published in London, the organ of the Indian Congress. I regret to say that in the same issue, separated by a few columns only from Mr.

Hume's weighty words, there is an article by one who was lately an officer of the British Government, Mr. Donald Smeaton, which consists of a vituperative denunciation of the Viceroy's "schemes of aggression, extravagance, and misrule." "I have no hesitation," he says "in declaring that in my opinion a veritable conspiracy has been hatched against the people of India." Comment on such language is surely unnecessary. It would be well, if writers like Mr. Smeaton, and many writers in the Indian press would lay to heart the wise words of Mr. Alan Hume—"Let us all beware of saying or doing anything that can tend to divide further the people and the Government. Let our minds be set on bringing these into closer and more mutually appreciative relations. Put resolutely aside all race and caste jealousies and antagonism; let the Englishman realise that there are multitudes of Indians who are quite as good and true men as himself, and let the Indian realise how many Anglo-Indian officials desire, above all things (if they only knew how to bring it about) the welfare and happiness of the people committed to their charge." No one can complain of candid criticism of measures of Government, or of the action of Government officials; but what tends to prevent the Indian press from having the good influence which it might and ought to have, is the bitter animosity so often displayed to men and measures, simply because they belong to or emanate from the Government.

To return to the Congress. It is unnecessary to labour the point that there is not an Indian nation. Sir Henry Cotton admits the fact. He says: "There was no Indian nation, and therefore there has been no real English conquest of India. No foreign power could conquer India if she were a true nation." If, then, the confusion of tongues is an insuperable obstacle to a true union of the many nations of India, if the vast population consists of dissimilar elements, are English education and the English language a sufficient bond of union so as to form a common patriotism? At first sight this question can hardly be answered in the affirmative. No precedent can be quoted for such a proposition, but rather the contrary. One has never heard of a foreign tongue being regarded as a bond of patriotism. The Welsh, the Boers, the Hungarians do not think so; the French Canadians more than half a century ago did not think so. On the other hand, it would be wrong to assert that the increasing use of the English language (to the detriment, it must be feared, of the vernaculars) is a matter of no account. Talleyrand pointed out in his pamphlet on the United States the vast moral and even political influence which is exercised by the power of

language. He showed that in spite of political predilections the moral and general influence of England was powerful, and he attributed this influence chiefly to the effects of community of language. In the United States, it has been remarked, the English language is that of the constitution, the general government and the laws, and this is found to bring about imperceptibly a sense of community of interest and homogeneous feeling, notwithstanding the great extent of the "Union" in which the interests of the inhabitants were infinitely more various and conflicting than were those of Canada, where the disuniting tendency (in Lower Canada) of different national origin and the use of two languages contributed to produce disturbances. But in India we have to face the fact that English is not the language of the masses, and never will be, at least within a measurable distance of time. This leads us to another important fact, that the Congress is not really representative of the peoples of India. As an Indian paper in Calcutta, an ardent supporter of the Congress, said, "The Congress can never be called National, or be placed on a really sound basis, unless the general body of the people is made to co-operate with it." For instance, one reads in the papers from India many notices like this:—"At a public meeting held to-day under the presidency of — 75 delegates were elected for the Congress." Who were the electors? What was the franchise? I have not yet had the good fortune to meet with a clear statement of the constitution of the Congress. And I fancy that, as yet, there is no constitution, for among the resolutions unanimously arrived at at the late session of the Congress in Bombay, there was one appointing a sub-committee for the purpose of drafting a formal constitution.

Then there is another fact which detracts from the value of the Congress, and that is that there is no discussion of the subjects under consideration; there is simply declamation. The Indian paper, mentioned above, points out that the Congress has been reduced to an assemblage of orators and speech-listeners; the Congress (quoting Washington Irving), has been converted into a mighty windmill, and the orators and the chatterers and slang-whangers are the breezes that put it in motion once a year. On the other hand, if there was an assembly, really representative of all classes of the peoples of India, criticising with moderation the measures affecting the welfare of the country, thankfully accepting those which are obviously devised from a sincere desire to benefit the people, suggesting improvements and reform, where possible—such an institution might prove an invaluable assistance to Government.

It has been stated on good authority that the Congress movement was really suggested and initiated by Lord Dufferin, when he was Governor-General. He projected an annual assembly, to be attended by the chief officials of the various provinces and representatives of all classes of the community. Unfortunately, in pursuance of changes in the Viceroy's idea, the assembly was not to be summoned by the Government, but at least for the first few years was to remain extra-official, and the result was that Government and the Congress drifted apart. It is a question for serious consideration whether it is not now too late for Government to retrace their steps. Why should we not have a Congress, somewhat on the lines of the Representative Assembly of Mysore, recently introduced in Travancore? Of course, great care and caution would be necessary in arranging all the details, ensuring the due representation of all classes of the people, not merely the English-speaking members of the community. To these might be added a few representatives of the various departments of the administration, and the proceedings would then consist, not in mere one-sided declamation, but in real deliberations, in which all points of view of the subject matter under consideration would be put forward with moderation. At present the good which the Congress, even as it is now constituted, might effect is nullified by the extravagant language of its speakers. Surely, it is not outside the range of practical politics to hope that, if the leaders of the Congress succeed in establishing a real representative constitution, and a tone of moderation in debate, we shall have the nucleus of a Representative Assembly, which might in the course of time prove an assistance in the government of the Indian Empire. But then it must be clearly understood that this form of representative government is a very different thing from responsible government. Sir Henry Cotton evidently contemplates the numerous nations of India being formed into separate, autonomous, independent states, under the supremacy of England, with national armies in place of the standing army of England. Let me remark, by the way, that he admits that the difficulty will be in providing for the existence of healthy relations between these separate and independent states; but he gets over this difficulty by remarking that in the event of civil war in India, the military interposition of England would be required. As there would be no army of Great Britain in India, it is difficult to see how the military interposition of England could be effected.

Passing from that point, let us consider for a moment the question of Responsible Government. Mr. Jenks, a well-known authority, gives

the following definition :—If the Colonial Office appoints, either through the Governor or in the name of the Crown, the actual office-holders in the colony, the latter is said to be a Crown Colony. Where the bulk of such officials are both in law and in fact, appointed by the independent action of the people of the colony, the latter is said to have “responsible government.” Or, as Sir J. G. Bourinot puts it, where the Sovereign or his representative does not exercise any power, legislative or executive, except through a legislature which makes the law, and an executive which is practically chosen by that legislature to carry out that law, then there is responsible government. Is India ripe for that ? In answer to that question I will quote a stalwart Radical, and a true friend of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P. He says:—

“No government in an Asiatic country can preserve law and order which has not a strong executive to put down lawlessness whenever it occurs. No executive in Asia could rule any country if it had to get the assent of a deliberative assembly and justify its action in each particular case. A certain element of autocracy, or if you like to call it so, paternal government, is essential to success in all Asiatic countries. But the great thing required in India is that the government should be in close touch with the best Indian opinion.”

That is the crucial point, How are we to obtain the best Indian opinion ? Sir Henry Cotton says that we may venture to look for the basis of internal order to the recognition of that organisation which from time immemorial has existed in India, a patrician aristocracy of indigenous growth, trained by past associations to control and lead the lower orders of the people. Where is this aristocracy to be found ? Sir Henry Cotton cannot be referring to the numerous chiefs, great and small, outside British India : they have never led the lower orders of the people outside their own territories or estates. Turning to British India, no doubt, there are in many parts wealthy landholders (zamin-dars, jaghirdars and so forth), some of whom take a prominent position not merely in their own estates but in their province generally. But a little further on Sir Henry Cotton says that the Rai Bahadurs, and the Rajahs and Nawabs are not the mouthpiece of the people ; they are men of rank and dignity, but they are not representatives of the people ; the real leaders of the people (he says) are of a more retiring disposition, and somewhat proud : Englishmen hear little of them, and the Government as a rule knows them not, but their names are household words among the homes of the people. Now it may fairly be asked, are

these retiring, comparatively unknown, but real leaders of the people the same as the patrician aristocracy of indigenous growth, trained by past associations to control and lead the lower orders? Can they be persuaded to come out of their obscurity, and become members of a truly representative assembly? In that direction true progress apparently lies. It is far better that any discontent in India should come out into the light of day, and be fairly discussed, than that it should be bottled up in secret societies. But the assembly must be representative, not only of the literary class, but of all classes, and there must be discussion, not mere declamation. An advisory Council might prove of some assistance to the Government. One thing is clear, our policy must be progressive. We cannot increasingly give to all classes in India the benefits of Western civilisation and not invite them to take a fair share in the administration of their country. But our motto should be *Festina lente*. To prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government is a laudable aim; but an object-lesson of hasty action is afforded by the Philippine Islands, with their 40 provincial and 623 Municipal governments. (See No. XII. of Mr. Alleyne Ireland's *Studies of Administration in the Tropics*.) So, too, there is a warning against the hybrid constitutions of Jamaica and British Guiana, in which an unsuccessful attempt has been made to blend responsible government with Crown Colony government.

You may ask why have I endeavoured to lay before you certain facts about "Actual India," and its administration, especially in connection with the views expressed by Sir Henry Cotton in his "New India." One answer to that query is that a deputation of Indian gentlemen is shortly to visit England with the object of stumping the country and spreading those views as widely as possible. Very probably these gentlemen will address a meeting at Cambridge; I hope so, for quite apart from the merits of those views, we ought to welcome anything which is calculated to rouse among people in England an interest in India. Last year, Lord Curzon, in a speech at the Guildhall, said that he sometimes thought that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India was the general ignorance that prevails about it in England. I am inclined to think that the indifference is profounder than the ignorance. Then, I can promise you an intellectual treat in listening to certainly one, if not more, of the members of the deputation. One of them is sure to be an Indian gentleman, who hails from Western India, and who is famous there for his eloquence. He is no loud-tongued, frothy orator, but with an excellent voice and delivery he

charms his audience by his simple, unadorned language, a language, be it remembered, which is not his native tongue.

Another member will probably be an able Bengali gentleman, from whose speeches I have given quotations above in praise of his national heroes, the Maratha, Sivaji, and Guru Govind, the Sikh. Here is another extract which illustrates his style. The speech was delivered at the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a true Bengali national hero. Speaking of the sad fate of the Raja, who died an outcaste 71 years ago, he said:—
“But that has always been the way of humanity. We bite the hand that feeds us and spurn the food that contains in it the messages of our salvation. We torture and crucify the blessed redeemer of mankind. The chariot-wheel of human progress is smeared with the blood of our martyrs, and is bedewed with the tears of their sufferings. Error revenges itself upon truth by persecution, and posterity makes amends by tears and penances. We are here to-night assembled round the yet unextinguished ashes of Ram Mohan Roy, not merely to atone for the errors of the past and perform a great act of national penance, but to derive from him the inspiration and guidance for our work in the future. And never was such guidance more urgently needed. We are passing through the midnight of reaction. The sun has long set. We are far away from the bursting of the new dawn. Light, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom, to lead our weary footsteps is what we need and to whom can we turn,” and so on. The style may be too ornate, but I do not believe that any Englishman, however long he may have studied Bengali, or any other Indian vernacular, could ever come near such a pitch of proficiency.

There is one great mistake which the organisers of this deputation to England are about to make, and that is that their appeal is to be thrown into the seething cauldron of party politics; it is thought that Radicals and Liberals generally will be more likely than others to agree with the demands of the Indian National Congress, and an attempt will be made to create a party cry. This is much to be deplored. Any league or combination formed with the object of dispelling the ignorance and indifference in England regarding Indian affairs should be absolutely non-political, its object being to secure the support of individual members of Parliament and politicians on strictly non-party grounds.

SAND-BURIED RUINS OF KHOTAN.

THE publication of a popular edition of Stein's "Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan" * affords a second opportunity of reviewing a book which richly deserves to be widely read. The chief interest of the book lies in the archæological results embodied in it. But the book is equally interesting as a book of travel. And Mr. Stein's success as a traveller—though it was of secondary importance to him—will be envied by many a young aspirant. For if in these less romantic days, when the search-light of civilisation is penetrating into the remotest corners of the earth, we cannot expect to hear much of "moving accidents by flood and field," we still have in this book accounts of adventures which take one's breath away, and make one heave a sigh of relief as each adventure terminates happily. Truth is always strange, stranger than fiction.

In some places the galleries the travellers had to ascend were "steep enough to resemble ladders." One false step would have proved fatal. And the difficulty of carrying loads can be guessed from the fact that even "Yolchi Beg," the little terrier who in Kashmir had found few rocks that would refuse him a foothold, had, on more occasions than one, "reluctantly to submit to the indignity of being carried." Mr. Stein's men—even sturdy hill-men—succumbed to mountain sickness and often complained of difficulty of breathing in the higher parts of their ascent. "The panting of the yaks as they struggled up over the trying slopes of loose stones and shingle showed plainly that these hardy animals felt the effects of the elevation." Even Ram Singh, the indefatigable Sub-Surveyor, had once to be left behind for rest. The party had to face strong dust storms, often a thick haze enveloping them all day, and making them "thankful for the guidance afforded by the rows of poles marking the road." And at times even the note-book felt "guilty with sand." To the discomfort which the constant drifting of sand caused was added "the trying sensation of glare and heat all through the day-time." Under such difficulties was the work of excavation often carried

* Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, by M. Aurel Stein.

on. As for the cold, it is enough to say that the temperature often went down to about 6 degrees Fah. below the freezing point. Then it was impossible to read or write, and Mr. Stein had reluctantly to retire among the heavy blankets and rugs of his bed where Yolchi Beg had already sought refuge. Once Mr. Stein had the not-enviable experience of losing his way after dark. To these difficulties we must add the almost insuperable one of securing good drinking water.

All these experiences are described in a charmingly naive style. Speaking of the intense cold Mr. Stein only remarks, "It was uncomfortable to wake up with one's moustache hard frozen with the respiration that had passed over it." A chapter ends thus:—"The ascent indeed looked like a huge flight of stairs built by nature along the brink of a precipice more than 500 feet high. The yaks climbed it with astonishing surefootedness, but it was uncomfortable to look down on the track over which they had carried us."

The journey was carried out in the year 1900-01 under the auspices of the Government of India, its object being "the systematic exploration of ancient remains about Khotan and in the adjoining parts of the great desert of Chinese Turkestan."

"The idea of archæological work about Khotan," writes Mr. Stein, "first suggested itself to me in the spring of 1897, in consequence of some remarkable antiquarian acquisitions from that region. Among the papers left by the distinguished but ill-fated French traveller, Mr. Dutreuil de Rhins, were fragments of ancient birch-bark leaves, which had been acquired in the vicinity of Khotan. On expert examination they proved to contain a Buddhist text in an early Indian script and language, and were soon recognised as the oldest Indian manuscript then known, going back to the first centuries of our era. About the same time the 'British collection of Central-Asian antiquities' formed at Calcutta through the efforts of Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, C.I.E., received from the same region notable additions, consisting of fragments of paper, manuscripts, pieces of ancient pottery, and similar relics."

The practicable nature of the project had been proved by the memorable march of Dr. Sven Hedin (1896).^{*} And in 1898 Mr. Stein worked out the detailed plan of his journey.

^{*} Dr. Hedin thus speaks of Mr. Stein's work in his latest book—"The thorough investigations made by this inquirer throw a clearer light upon the discoveries which I made in the Lop-nor region"—*Central Asia and Tibet*.

The Indian Government, "inspired by Lord Curzon's generous interest in the history and antiquities of the East," removed all difficulties against which Mr. Stein had been struggling, and gave him a grant of Rs. 9,000. The Survey Department provided the "necessary equipment of surveying instruments, together with a special grant of Rs. 2,000." This Department also deputed with him Sub-Surveyor Ram Singh, a record of whose excellent work is to be found in Mr. Stein's book.

It is a pleasure to find that the generous help of the Indian Government has not made Mr. Stein blind to its shortcomings. He speaks thus of a *stupa*. "The only damage done is at the corner, where the masonry of the base has been knocked off to save the detour of a few feet to the road which passes by the side of the monument. It is evident that even at so remote a spot the Public Works of modern India involve the same danger to ancient monuments which they have unfortunately proved throughout the peninsula" It reminds one of that admirable historian Sir W. W. Hunter who, in speaking of Jajpur, first described the effects of the "iconoclast fury of Islam," and then remarked—"But it was reserved for the English to put the finishing stroke of ruin to the royal and sacred edifices of Jajpur"* And we all know how Lord Curzon condemned the "acts of vandalism" committed by the English in India on Indian buildings.

Here it may not be out of place to say that Mr. Stein received uniform help at the hands of all Chinese officials, and he has much to say of "the historical sense which all educated Chinese seem to possess."

Khotan is a land of peculiar interest to the archæologist. "Khotan is a city of extreme antiquity. The beginnings of its history are lost amid the dim obscurities of a remote and legendary past."† When Buddhist India gave her cult and her culture to the Far East there were two great landways from India to China. "Both began at Torko in China, at the mouth of the Gobi Desert, dividing before reaching the Oxus, into the Northern and Southern passes of Tensan, and so on to the Indus."‡ And Khotan "situated on the important route that led from China to the Oxus Valley and hence to India as well as to the West, had played a prominent part in developing the impulses received from India and transmitting them eastward." About 400 A. D. Shi Fa Hian went to Khotan in order "to seek the prescriptions of the

* Hunter—"Orissa."

† Dr. Hedin—"Through Asia."

‡ Okakura—"Ideals of the East."

law." Moreover in Khotan are to be found many convincing proofs of the advance of the classical art of the West into Central Asia. It is also a historic fact that "the Issodones, the inhabitants of the modern Khotan, had from the earliest ages been the chief agents in the transmission of silk from China over the Himalayas into India, across the Pamir Steppe into Western Asia and Europe."*

The moving sand of the desert plays the double function of the destroyer and the preserver. The unrelenting destructive effect of erosion by wind and sand is everywhere evident. And the moving sand "preserves what it buries," and easily yields up the relics of an ancient civilisation safely resting under it for centuries. "The remains of ancient furniture,† the shreds of silks and other woven fabrics; the tatters of antique rugs; the fragments of glass, metal and pottery ware; the broken pieces of domestic and agricultural implements, and the manifold other relics, however humble, which had safely rested in the sand-buried dwellings and their deposits of rubbish—these all help to bring vividly before our eyes details of ancient civilisation that without the preserving force of the desert would have been lost for ever." Thus from the mute eloquence of the relics found in this part of Asia, described by Sir Henry Yule in 1865 as "the most inaccessible and least known of Asiatic States," can be constructed "a fascinating chapter of ancient history which witnessed interchange between the civilisations of India, China, and the Classical West in that distant part of Central Asia, and which seemed almost completely lost to us."

"The early spread of Buddhist teaching and worship from India into Central Asia, China and the Far East is probably the most remarkable contribution made by India to the general development of mankind. Chinese records had told us that Buddhism reached the 'Middle Kingdom' not directly from the land of its birth, but through Central Asian territories lying northward. We also knew from the accounts left by the devoted Chinese pilgrims who, from the fourth century A.D. onwards, had made their way to the sacred Buddhist sites in India, that Sakyamuni's creed still counted numerous followers in many of the barbarian 'Western Kingdoms' they passed through."

Though we find Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Kharoshthi and an otherwise unknown language "manifestly non-Sanskritic yet written in Indian Brahmi characters" represented among the literary finds, still

* Birdwood—"Industrial Arts of India."

† "Cathay and the Way Thither."

"the use of an Indian language in the vast majority of the documents," says Mr. Stein, "when considered together with their secular character, strikingly confirms the old local tradition recorded by Hiven-Tsiang and also in old Tibetan texts, but hitherto scarcely credited, that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised about two centuries before our era by Indian immigrants from Takshasila, the Taxila of the Greeks, in the extreme North-West of the Punjab. It is certainly a significant fact that within India the Kharoshthi script used in our tablets was peculiar to the region of which Taxila was the historical centre. Neither the language nor the script presented by our documents can satisfactorily be accounted for by the spread of Buddhism alone, seeing that the latter, so far as our available evidence goes, brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as the ecclesiastical language, and the writing in Brahmi characters."

"It seemed strange," remarks Mr. Stein, "that these ruins far away in the barbarian North, overrun by what Hindu legends vaguely knew as the 'great sand ocean' should have preserved for us in an Indian language records of everyday life older than any written documents (as distinguished from inscriptions) that have as yet come to light in India proper."

Mr. Rapson of the British Museum is of opinion that the Kharoshthi language is an early Indian Prakrit "possessing a large admixture of Sanskrit terms." Mr. Stein found hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood and leather. "Their peculiar writing material (so much older than the paper of my other literary finds)," he remarks, "their early Indian script and language, and the surprisingly perfect state of preservation of many among them would alone have sufficed to invest these documents with special interest. But their exceptional historical value is derived from the fact that they prove to contain records written as early as the third century of our era, and dealing with a wide range of matters of administration and private life." The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Stein is that "with the Kharoshthi script transplanted from the extreme North-West of India, an early form of Indian speech had also been brought into popular use within the territories of ancient Khotan, probably from the same region. Such a fact could be accounted for only by historical events of far-reaching importance, which hitherto seemed wholly lost to our field of vision."

Coming next to art, we are told that "the origin and history of the culture that once flourished in Buddhist Khotan, are faithfully reflected in the remarkable series of sculptures and paintings which the ancient

shrines and dwelling places, after long centuries of burial beneath the dunes, have yielded up. Exact archæological evidence enables us to determine the various periods at which these settlements were invaded by the desert sand. Though these periods range from the third to the close of the eighth century of our era, the preponderance of Indian art influences is attested by the latest as well as by the earliest of these finds. The rich statuary of the Rawak Stupa Court, and the decorative wood carvings of the ancient site beyond Niya, reproduce with astonishing fidelity the style and motives of that fascinating 'Græco-Buddhist' art which, fostered by Hellenistic-Roman influences, grew up and flourished in Gandhara (the present Peshawar Valley) and other neighbouring tracts in the extreme North-West of India, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of our era. Yet when we turn from those remains to the frescoes on the walls of the small Buddhist shrines at Daudan-Uiliq, dating some five hundred years later, we recognise with equal distinctness the leading features of ancient Indian pictorial art as preserved for us in the Ajanta Cave paintings."

As for the classic art of the West, it is extremely interesting to note that a remarkable series of classical seals, impressed on clay, demonstrate the triumphant advance of that art to Khotan. "From an historical point of view they claim exceptional interest, for they have furnished convincing evidence of the way in which the influence of classical Western art asserted itself even in distant Khotan." "It was a delightful surprise," remarks Mr. Stein, "when, on cleaning the first intact seal impression that turned up, I recognised in it the figure of Pallas Athene, with ægis and thunderbolt, treated in an archaic fashion. This particular seal was found thereafter to recur frequently, and probably belonged to an official who was directly connected with the administration of the ancient settlement."

Our data for the chronology of Græco-Buddhist art in India is still very scanty, and that makes the discovery of the relics of Græco-Buddhist art in Khotan specially interesting and valuable for the archæologist. In some cases "the representation of the thick hair by elaborately worked spiral tufts" strongly reminded the author of the treatment of the hair in many a sculpture of Græco-Buddhist type lodged in the Lahore Museum.

In a dwelling "some fine specimens of architectural wood-carving came to light in the shape of massive corbels, showing flower ornaments which are closely allied in style to those found in the Græco-

Buddist sculpture of ancient Gandhara." And some figures were found recalling the best products of Græco-Buddhist sculpture in the same part of India.

Side by side with the instances of the influence of the Græco-Buddhist art must be placed instances of the influence of Persian art apparent in the treatment of face and dress on some paintings. In some of the paintings of sacred Buddhist subjects, recovered from the ruins of Daudan-Uiliq, we find unmistakable evidence of the imitation of early Persian art.

It is superfluous to speak at length of the influence of Indian art, for it was Indian art that was transplanted to Khotan. Yet Mr. Stein's remarks on some frescoes which it was found impossible to remove "owing to the friable condition of the plaster on which they were painted" will bear quotation. Drawings have been made from photographs of Daudan-Uiliq frescoes. And these, remarks Mr. Stein, "when published in my detailed Report, will, I hope, render it easier to judge of the remarkable resemblance which, in style of composition and the drawing of figures, exists between these frescoes and the later of the Indian paintings in the cave temples of Ajanta." "Little, indeed," he continues, "of early Indian painting has survived in India itself. Hence all the more interest must attach to the specimens which the frescoes and painted tablets of Daudan-Uiliq shrines have preserved for us of that self-same Indian art as transplanted to the Buddhist region of Khotan."

Space will not permit us to say more of the many important discoveries described in this book. Suffice to say that the book reminds one of the days of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Henry Yule.

The task of the explorer was two-fold—geographical and archæological. And Mr. Stein has performed his work very successfully. "It would be," the President of the Royal Geographical Society justly remarked, "almost impossible to exaggerate the great value and importance of his archæological and historical investigations."* Mr. Stein was thoroughly equipped for the work he undertook. He had at his fingers' ends the records of Hiuen-Tsiang and other Chinese pilgrims of more than a thousand years ago, as well as almost everything else that has been written upon the subject. He was consequently able to identify many places mentioned by the great Chinese traveller whom he claims as his "guide and patron saint."

* The Geographical Journal.—Dec., 1902.

We cannot do better than conclude by quoting the remarks of M. Foucher on "Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan" and its author. "Never was good fortune better deserved. The success of this mission, obtained at so small a cost, has been a due reward for the Anglo-Indian Government for its wisdom in choosing the right man. Above all, the glory of these discoveries is a worthy compensation for his services rendered to science during this year in the worst of climates and in the least hospitable of lands. The preparation of this huge volume of more than 500 pages, accompanied by 136 illustrations from photographs taken by the author, is his way of taking breath while he dreams of new expeditions. All minds eager to delve in the present as well as the past of Central Asia, a land almost unknown yesterday, will find something to satisfy their most diverse inquiries."*

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

* Bulletin d'Ecole d'Extreme Orient—quoted from the *Pioneer*.

THE FOLK LORE OF THE MAN-EATING TIGER.

LITTLE need be said of the natural history of the man-eating tiger ; yet a word or two, may not be out of place.

It is well known that the loss of human life in India from tigers is caused chiefly by what are called man-eaters : individuals of the tiger race which prey only or chiefly on man. The ordinary tiger rarely attacks unless attacked, but the man-eating tiger comes even into the villages in search of his favourite food, and the villagers then inform some English officer that a man-eater has appeared in their neighbourhood and entreat him to go out and kill it. According to one theory the man-eating tiger suffers from some disease which produces a form of madness. This is supported by the fact that the man-eater is always in bad condition and his skin is worthless. According to another theory, he is simply a tiger who has once killed a man and who has thus found out that men are the easiest prey—the prey which is least able to run away. A third theory occurs to me and I offer it for what it is worth. In Abyssinia the people dislike to have Europeans hunt the lions, not only because they reverence them as the king of beasts, but also because experience has taught them that a lion, whose mate has been killed, becomes ferocious and thirsts for human blood. Can the man-eating tiger be a tiger whose mate has been killed ?

Whatever truth there may be in these various suggestions, the natives of the jungle explain the man-eater's existence in another way. They relate (and they firmly believe) that once upon a time there was a man who had the power of changing himself into a tiger whenever he liked. But for him to change back into the shape of a man, it was necessary that some human being should pronounce a certain formula. He had a friend who knew the formula and to

him he went when he wished to resume the human shape. But the friend died !

The man was obliged, therefore, to find some one else to pronounce the formula. At last he decided to confide the secret to his wife, so one day he said to her that he should be absent for a short time and that when he came back it would be in the form of a tiger ; he charged her to pronounce the proper formula when she should see him appear in tiger shape and he assured her that he should then, forthwith, become a man again. In a few days, after he had amused himself by catching a few antelopes, he trotted up to his wife, hoping all would be well. But the woman, in spite of all that he had told her, was so dreadfully frightened when she saw a large tiger running towards her that she began to scream. The tiger jumped about and tried to make her understand by dumb-show what she was to do, but the more he jumped the more she screamed, and at last, he thought in his mind "This is the most stupid woman I ever knew," and he was so angry that he killed her ! Directly afterwards he recollected that no other human being knew the right formula—therefore, he must remain for ever a tiger ! This so affected his spirits that he acquired a hatred for the whole human race and killed men whenever he saw them.

This simple folk-tale belongs to the vast family of traditional stories which deal with the change of men into animals ; into wild beasts, vampires or were-wolves for a bad purpose, into stags, birds or other of the gentler animals for a good purpose or merely for self-protection. The relationship of the man-eating tiger to the were-wolf, the lycanthropos of the Greeks, the versipellis of the Romans, is the more noteworthy because for a long time even the indefatigable German failed to find this superstition which is common to all Europe, in India, its most natural birth-place. Folk lore comes to our aid and presents a perfect analogy.

Even in Europe the turnskin is not only a wolf. If a bear with bad morals appears in Norway the people say, "that can be no Christian bear," it is thought to be a Lapp or a Finn as both these peoples are credited with the power of changing into bears when they choose.

In Scandinavian and Teutonic traditions the way to become a were-wolf is to obtain a girdle of wolf-skin by which the transforma-

tion is effected whenever it is fastened round the body. This is a safer method than secret formulæ which always have a habit of leading to misfortune.

An old French record tells of a man who buried a black cat in a box where four winds meet with enough bread, soaked in holy water and holy oil, to keep it alive for three days. The man intended to dig the cat up and after killing it, to make a girdle of its skin by which means he expected to obtain the gift of second-sight ; but the burial-place of the cat was discovered by some dogs that were scratching the earth, before the three days had elapsed. The man, put to the torture, confessed all.

Folk stories have a particular origin and a general origin. The particular origin of stories of the man-eating tiger type was the observation that a few members of each species of wild beast seemed more depraved than the rest. The wolf species, especially, seemed subject to such alienation, as wolves suffer from hydrophobia, and a mad wolf, the outcast of its pack, might well inspire unscientific rustics not only with terror but with a sense of mystery. The abnormally wicked wild beast was supposed to be possessed by a devil which man called man. Only the Zulus have a better opinion of the human race : instead of thinking that an unusually noxious animal must be a man, they think that an unusually harmless animal must be a man. If they see a quiet, benevolent snake they are sure that it is a man's spirit, an Itongo, and the suspicion becomes certainty if the snake bears a scar on its body, as it is speedily remembered that somebody who died not long ago had just such a scar on *his* body. Scars and wounds serve everywhere to identify men with their corresponding beast-forms ; if a were-wolf is wounded, the man with whom he is connected, is found covered with blood.

The theory that beasts were inhabited by depraved men has a distinct affinity with the theory that men were inhabited by demons. Dante maintains that some persons have actually gone to their account while their bodies are still above ground, the lodgings of evil spirits.

The general origin of folk tales is the reference of uncommon phenomena to certain fixed rules of probabilities. In this instance the fixed rule lies in the assumption that the soul of man frequently

puts on animal form. This belief permeates the folk-lore of the whole world. It is by no means necessarily connected with the transmigration of souls, but it has close affinities with the Egyptian belief that privileged souls, after death, can take up a temporary abode in the bodies of living men and animals. Transformation appears in the Indian sacred books long before there is any allusion to transmigration. Far from lending itself only to such repulsive applications as man-tigers and demon-men, it has given birth to some of the fairest passages in the poetry of mankind which he calls his religion. It is impossible to imagine a more beautiful myth than the Vedic belief in the swan-maidens, the Apsarases, who by putting on skirts of swan-feathers could become swans. Their swan-skirts stretch from the hot East to the cold North, for they were the same that were worn by the Valkyries. All these early legends of swans bring into particularly clear light the moral identity of impressions received from things seen by man at the bottom and at the top of the ladder of progress. Certain natural objects, lovely or terrible, raise archetypal images of things lovely or terrible which in our minds remain shapeless, but to which the primitive man gave a local habitation and a name. Swans, sailing on still waters or circling above our heads, inspire us with indefinite thoughts which took form in the myth of the Apsarases or in the Vedic story of the sage who, by deep knowledge and holiness, became a golden swan and flew away to the sun. To this day if the Hindu sees a flight of swans wending its mysterious way across the sky, he repeats the saying almost mechanically (as a Catholic crosses himself in the dark), "The soul flies away and none can go with it!"

The European must be dull who hears that common saw or proverb without remembering how the dying Socrates said that swans sing when they die, not because, as men falsely tell, they are afraid of death, but because, having the art of divination, they are delighted at the prospect of departure to the sun-god whose ministers they are.

In conclusion, I will only remark, that Europeans will never understand the Eastern mind unless they realise its incapacity to conceive a hard and fast line of demarcation between man and animals such as, hitherto, they themselves have assumed to exist. This is the case with all the races of India and although among

some of those races the religion of Islam prevents a belief in the transmigration of souls, yet we should bear in mind that we are told in the Koran that animals have souls of their own and that they will be judged each according to his deserts. It is interesting to note that the tendency of modern science is to break down the barrier which Western thought had raised between animals and men. We now commonly believe that our origin was the same as that of our fellow creatures not endowed with human language, and that their intelligence differs more in degree than in kind from our own. On this subject we are really going back, though not on the same grounds, to one of the fundamental points in Eastern belief : the unity of all sentient beings.

E. MARTINENGO CESARESCO.

TO THE INDIAN RYOT.

I HAVE been asked to write "something that will do good to the poor Indian ryot." Much as I feel honoured by the request, I hardly feel myself properly equipped for the privilege, having no personally intimate knowledge of the Indian ryot. Years ago, as a stranger and without understanding or knowledge, I saw a little of him and had a few talks through an interpreter. But it is since I came away that I have obtained what I am pleased to hope is some better comprehension of the general economic condition of the Indians.

Yet I confess that I do feel myself to have somewhat to say; though I do not know if I shall manage to say it effectually.

Moreover I have met with such kind reception at the hands of Indians in what I have already written, that I am emboldened to try to address myself as to the Indian ryot himself, in the hope that some one may think my words worth passing on to the people for whom they are meant.

Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak, and I find myself in difficulty.

One of the weightiest and wisest precepts for the guidance of mankind seems to me to be "Man, know thyself." And this, I suppose, holds good for all men at all stages and in all situations. I wonder whether the Indian ryot knows himself or has realised the importance of such knowledge. I am inclined to fancy that the answer is in the negative.

Yet surely to know himself is the first condition of security for a man. And as I hope to show, this is more easy for the peasant than for most men.

The next condition of security is to understand one's surroundings and one's relation to them.

To have attained to these two things is to understand the situation, and to have gone at least some way towards being master of it.

From all accounts the Indian ryot is not master of the situation.

Yet he more easily might be so, I should think, than almost anyone else.

When a man is very down on his luck one of the best things to do to help him, I suppose, is to say or do something that will encourage him and make him think more of himself, and take a more hopeful view of his case, so long as such encouragement, such thinking and such view are in consonance with the truth and, therefore, proof against subsequent disappointment.

Something in this way can, I think, be done for the Indian peasant. He is the "poor Indian ryot," he is down in the world. He is desolate and oppressed. He lingers on, starving in his millions, on a fraction of a meal a day, or two days or three—going short for one, two, three or more months in even a fairly good year, we are told—existing in such a fashion that one hears of a Government official saying, I think in one of the better districts, that if he were one of the ryots, he would rather walk into the sea and drown himself than live on as they live. Certainly they have come very low.

To such fallen and distressed folk one might say: "Take heart; you are so low down that you can fall no lower; and the tide may turn and your fortunes may soon begin to mend."

Something like this we surely may say. But I will say more. I will make bold to say to the ryots of India that, *if they will it*, their fortune is in their own hands. And I will go further still and say that if they will only find this WILL, rouse themselves to facts, and realise and assert their own true genius, then they will be in a fair way to take the position of leaders of the world.

The world is waiting for such leading.

The true leaders of the new world must be peasants and craftsmen—simple, meek, honest, persevering husbandmen and artisans.

Throughout known history men have been preying on these, living on the produce of their toil. Perhaps never and nowhere (I cannot say for certain) has civilised plunder been so subtly developed into so fine an art as here in the West now. Yet here in the West we are beginning to find it out. Here in the West we are beginning to raise the cry, "Back to the land." That means that it is beginning to be recognised that the true economics and ethics of human society require men to live as husbandmen and artisans.

An Anglo-Indian official of high standing long ago wrote, that all they wanted (that is all the Anglo-Indians wanted) among the Indians in India was industrious husbandmen. The words were truer probably

than he thought. All that any people want, in any land, is industrious husbandmen, practising husbandry and allied crafts in peace and helpfulness, with ample leisure for social intercourse, recreation, rest and meditation. And if there were none but useful workers, things might well be arranged so.

Now, in India, you have a large and able body of peasantry who stand before the world as an example of meek husbandmen, inevitably plundered by the commercio-imperial system of civilisation. The history of the world is brought up before the world to be seen by itself as in a mirror in your distress. Your crafts have dwindled away. But some of them remain—more than many people are aware of, I believe. Some of your crafts have never been surpassed, or even approached, by most of the rest of the present world. Here is a great body of Indians, cultivators, craftsmen and other workers, on whom not only all India, including a host of temporary European settlers and sojourners, but a considerable number outside India besides, depend for the necessities of life as well as for superfluous luxuries. You are their supporters. They depend on you. And the world is gradually waking up to the fact.

I do not think I am talking extravagantly when I say, that the history of the world now largely hangs on the way in which you Indian ryots and workers deal with the situation.

It is not for me to dictate to you. I dare not directly advise you what you should do, lest my proposals should not be in consonance with your nature and the real situation. But I may perhaps point out to you something of the nature of your situation as it appears to my eyes, and to those, as I know, of some others here in the West. I may also try to convey to you some expression of the regard which some of us feel for you, and of the hope and confidence which some of us place in you and your future.

Mankind is dependent physically on the labour which produces food from the soil, if only the labour of stretching out the hand and taking fruit and seed from the trees and plants, and on the labour which fashions the products of the earth to human uses. Therefore, all mankind are physically dependent on those who perform these useful labours—who till the soil, work materials into useful things, and gather and distribute seed and fruit and useful products. The useful workers support themselves and the rest of mankind. As I have said, you Indian workers support Indians and others besides, some in poverty and toil, some in poverty and idleness or mischief, some in luxury and

strenuous, though not always useful, occupation, some in luxury and idleness.

If you freely and willingly do all the work, and lovingly give of the produce to all the others, well and good, as long as your own kith and kin have enough. That is moral and satisfactory. But if you part with your produce unwillingly, and your own people starve through it, then that is not satisfactory.

For, mark you, you are responsible. It depends on yourselves what you do with your labour and its products. I do not know who can rob you of the responsibility. It is a matter for your own conscience, if you have not lost it.

If you have the conscience and intelligence and co-operative adhesion and loyalty to one another, you can do as you will with your labour and its products. You can, if you will and agree among yourselves, feed yourselves and your parents and children, and then the needy stranger, and, provided you have this conscience and this loyalty to stand by one another, no one, I think, can frustrate you in such a resolve.

But of course you are powerless to decide in a body on this matter and to live, as a body, according to conscience and good will unless you behave loyally to one another as brothers. And of course it will militate against this brotherhood and loyalty that some should live in regular houses or cottages in a village, while others are regarded as inferior and are allowed to live in miserable huts outside the village, separate and despised.

I do not presume to find fault with you. We are in many ways worse than you. But I would point out that, whereas we in England have nearly lost our peasantry and free craftsmen, and while our workers are mostly bired out as temporary bondsmen (in fact, though not in name) to do the bidding of others and produce profit for others, you in India still have a large number who are true peasantry and are not hirelings, and are therefore in some sort of position to show us a lead.

But there is no time to lose. You seem to be moving our way pretty fast—slipping into bondage, hire and debt. It is to be hoped that you will rouse yourselves before it is too late, before all power of co-operation and all strength of conscience are commercialised and imperialised out of you.

You seem to me to have many advantages and opportunities. You have your panchayat system, not yet extinct, and, if I am not mistaken waiting for you to take it up again and extend it to many new uses

only perhaps with greater freedom and tolerance than before, putting trust in free loyalty and good will. And I can't see why you should wait for Government to give you a lead. Government cannot make reliable and free co-operators of you if you have not the character of such, and reliance on Government may spoil your development. The power of co-operation and self-help must come through your own effort from within yourselves.

You have still some of the ancient skill of old crafts and industries left amongst you, and even new skill and industry springing up. These are quite enough, surely, to keep you in health, prosperity and even some luxury, without much help from other lands—and without any helpless dependence on others.

But in addition to these you have facilities for communication with nearly all the rest of the world, East, West, North and South, to learn and adapt the results of experience, thought and experiment of others and add them to your own experience and wisdom of ages and your own new thought and experiment. You can send your young men, and especially men of mature years, to look round and learn and gather in for your own learning, adaptation and use.

So that you have now a great chance, if you will use it, of developing a new great body of husbandmen and craftsmen of skill and conscience in fraternal co-operation, such as the world has perhaps never seen before. And if you will use this chance we of all lands will follow your lead and bless you.

You have a great opportunity, and a great duty to the world.

But there does not seem to be much time to spare. The forces of corruption and disintegration are hard at work. It may soon be too late, if you do not rouse yourselves now. Methinks I hear the appeal of humanity addressing you in the words of one of our poets :—

“Awake, arise, or be forever fallen !”

But there is another urgent reason and grave responsibility that seems now to especially call on you to wake up and act. There is some political stir in India, which threatens to follow in the erring footsteps of the West. There is a cry for representative government, apparently of a western type, a cry for posts and salaries, and for western education—such things as we suffer from in the West.

So far poor Asia seems to have partly failed, failed to assert and use her ancient fund of wisdom ; and threatens to succumb to some of the false notions of the younger peoples. Witness Japan, who has, at least temporarily, adopted western ways of industry, commerce and

war. And now some of your Indian educated people (so-called) seem to admire this weakness of Japan.

The Americans are granting a new representative constitution to the Philippines, I hear. It will naturally be asked why, if the Philippino is fit to have such things, the Indian should not be much more fit? Why not, indeed? If, now, the Japanese are successful in this war with Russia, what with the effect of Asiatics proving their ability to stand up against Europeans, and the example of the Philippines, I am told that, within thirty years, the great close corporation of the British Indian Civil Service will have to succumb to the demand for some kind of self-government or representative government in India.

Think what this may mean if you ryots of India remain asleep and impotent. It may mean a long wandering in a western wilderness of political faction and commercial exploitation. For a time it would doubtless mean greater prosperity all round until the new commercial and political classes had established themselves firmly in their seat. But look at the example of Europe and America, where "representative government" means exploitation of hirelings and general demoralisation, materialisation and degradation.

It may also mean much turmoil and bloodshed, unless you assert yourselves and proclaim your mission of peaceful husbandry. It will certainly mean the postponement of the happy realisation of that dream, at which I have hinted, of a federation of fraternal communities in which all men and women help one another in tilling the soil and in useful crafts, and leave behind them the horrible nightmare of politicians, money lenders, and other parasites—a dream which I maintain *you* can help to realise if you will be true to yourselves.

Now, have you, ryots of India, got it in you to come forward at this time of need and save your country? If *you* do not save her, I do not know who can. I call upon you, peasants and husbandmen, to save your country from her present and her threatened ills.

I entreat you, ryots of India, on behalf of the whole human race, that you be true to yourselves as conscientious tillers and weavers, builders and artificers—feeders and clothers and shelterers of the needy, so that the meek may enter into their inheritance of the earth, and mankind may have time to observe, and meditate, and follow the eternal law of life.

Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak. I feel that it is great presumption on my part to have spoken like this to you. But I have done it, and I will let it go. Believe that out of my love I have spoken,

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

WELLINGTON AND THE PYCHE RAJAH.

(Continued from our last number.)

WHILE "frighted peace" pants, and the Rajah and the Company "breathe short-winded accents of new broils," let us pause to take a brief survey of the events which led to this fresh rupture of relations and the consequent outbreak of hostilities, and of the trend of Indian politics in general at the dawn of the century. Writing in January 1800 to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, the Earl of Mornington thus expressed himself in regard to the *contretemps* in Wynad :—Wynad having been finally assigned to the Company by the partition treaty of Mysore, I directed, as soon as circumstances would permit, that it should be taken possession of on their behalf. The Pyche Rajah had, in the interval, established himself in Wynad under pretences which, had they been as substantial as they are frivolous, it was his duty to submit to my examination and decision, before he presumed to introduce his authority into the district. These considerations, joined to the refractory character of the Pyche Rajah, have determined me in the event of his offering any resistance to the establishment of the Company's authority in Wynad, to punish his contumacy in the most signal and exemplary manner." Meantime, however, it was shown that his pretensions had no real foundation in fact, or but a frail foundation : for Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close and others, nominated to enquire, had adjudicated against him, holding that no grant of the kind alleged by him had been made ; but that, on the other hand, his residence in the district had been encouraged by Tippu in the hope that he would make use of his position there to foment disturbances in Malabar, and thus help forward his own plans. However that may be, that there had been some secret agreement between him and Tippu seems beyond a doubt. But it should be said in his behalf that, having once precipitately sprung upon him the bellicose proclamation dated 18th December, 1796, there was nothing left for him but to rush into the arms of Tippu ; and he, in his turn, seems to have offered him large quantities of ammunition

and a force of 6,000 Carnatics, to be stationed at Kakenkotta on the frontier, to help in driving the English out of the district. No doubt, the turn of affairs in the beginning of 1797 must have been peculiarly gratifying to the latter; for we find him, in a letter dated the 20th April 1797—this letter was amongst the secret papers discovered in the archives of Seringapatam after his death—writing exultingly to Citoyen General Mangalon thus:—"At Calicut, the English have been attacked by the Rajah Kunhi Rama Rama (Congis Rammé Ramme); and the chief of Kottayam (Coutengris) who killed in three sorties a thousand Europeans and three thousand Sepoys. On all sides they are attacked. All have revolted against them for repairing the vexation caused by the imposition of the tax." Vexatious, indeed, in several respects were the Company's first essays in Revenue Settlement, at least, in Malabar. Shortly after the Province was ceded by Tippu in 1792 and placed under the Presidency of Bombay, a Joint Commission, composed of officers deputed on behalf of the Governments of Bombay and Bengal, was appointed to enquire into the prevailing condition of the country and to establish a system for its future government. In regard of land revenue, the Commissioners were specially urged to ascertain accurately the nature of the several tenures and particularly those of the Zamorin and the other Rajahs and principal landholders of the district, and forward to headquarters "estimates and statements, formed on the best materials you may be able to procure, of the amount of revenue which these several districts are capable of paying and may be equitably assessed at."* And they were asked to lose no time in settling the amount of tribute to be paid by the princes and chiefs, and for some specific revenue to be paid for the year. The Governor-General, at the same time, threw out a broad hint to the Commissioners that, although it should certainly be their object to fix on a fair and equitable assessment, this should, for policy's sake, be, in the beginning at least, generally lighter than that exacted by Tippu. Now, the Malayali mode of stating the extent of grain-crop lands is by the quantity of seed required to sow them; and the gross produce was divided on a well-defined system between the king, the overlord, and the tenant. This system of customary sharing of the produce furnished Hyder a ready-made settlement of the public revenue. But was the Mysorean settlement by any manner of means fair, equitable

* From the Governor-General's instructions to be Commissioners deputed to the Malabar Coast.

or systematic? No. For the Mysoreans took everywhere as land revenue a certain portion more or less of the *pattam* or landlord's share, varying, when taken in kind, from ten per cent. on the wet lands in Cheranad to a hundred per cent. on all the garden lands in South Malabar. The real facts relating to the Mysorean settlement were unearthed by Mr. Commissioner Græme in the course of an extended tour throughout the Province in 1818-22; and he came to the conclusion that the Mysorean officials imposed an apparently severe tax on the "seed of assessment" and "fruitful tree" respectively. The rates were so heavy, that the quantity of seed sown and the number of fruitful trees had to be understated, in order to find an assessment which the lands could bear. Thus the district collectors contrived to throw dust in the eyes of the authorities at headquarters, with the result that individuals who would offer a *douceur* got off with comparative immunity, while those who could not do so had their lands excessively assessed. This pernicious system, based on the principle of taking as revenue the whole or part of the landlord's share of the gross produce, the Joint Commissioners (who introduced no new settlement of their own) adopted in its entirety. Under such a system, embezzlement, corruption and oppression flourished as in a hotbed; and the result was an abundant crop of petty insurrections.

The disaffection, indeed, seems to have been so widespread that we hear it dimly echoed in a letter written by the Earl Mornington in the very thick of the last war with Tippu. Amid all the pre-occupations of that period of *sturm und drang*—the Governor-General had come down in state to Fort St. George to organise the campaign in person and watch over the course of events—he had occasion to write to the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, then on the eve of visiting the Coast of Malabar, as follows:—"I suspect that your present settlement is founded upon a principle wholly irreconcilable with the tranquillity of the country. It appears to me that we have not kept faith with the different Rajahs and Chieftains according to the terms on which we received the country at the conclusion of the last war with Mysore. You will set me right if I have conceived an erroneous opinion on the subject; but if the fact be as I suppose, you may be assured that I shall be ready to repair the breach which has been made in the national faith at any expense, being convinced that it will ever be impossible to introduce order into any country in contempt of the confidence and respect of the inhabitants." Now, the *kowls* entered into by the Chief of Tellicherry with the three Northern

Rajahs of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kadattanad on the outbreak of hostilities with Tippu in May 1790 provided that, if they entered heartily into the war against him, they should be "included and considered as allies of the Company." Lord Cornwallis' despatch of 8th April also promised on similar terms "to render them in future entirely independent of Tippu, and at the conclusion of a peace to retain them upon reasonable terms under the protection of the Company." And in a letter written by him to the Bombay Government on the 31st May, he added that, "in order to secure a willing obedience from the Malabar Chiefs, we should be contented with their paying a very moderate tribute, provided they will give the Company advantageous privileges for carrying on a commerce in the valuable possessions of their country." After the cession of Tippu's Malabar possessions to the Company in 1792, it was, however, discovered that the terms of the *kowls* of 1790 were "not so comprehensive as could be wished since they provided for the emancipation of the Malabar Rajas from, Tippu, but did not clearly express their dependence on the Company." This was because the Governor-General's instructions were received only after the execution of the *kowls*; nor do these appear to have been communicated then or ever afterwards to those concerned. The sequel was that, in spite of the somewhat ambiguous terms of the *kowls* they held, they found the necessity soon after the cession to relax their pretensions and acquiesce in the sovereignty of the Company over them. The Kottayam Chief and his compatriots would not yield their birthright readily and unconstrainedly, however; although, in the long run, they were stripped of every remnant of power and allowed simply to retain the names of Rajahs and the authority of subjects.

The really important factors in the rupture between the Pyche Raja and the Company have already been detailed. In a word, the later estrangement was caused inasmuch as neither the Rajah nor Mornington could defer or accommodate his opinions to the other. Unfortunately for the future relations of both, they had each of them taken up positions which were mutually irreconcilable, and thus they appeared in the guise of cocks in a pit or gladiators in the arena. The Rajah would be "Caesar or nobody" in his tiny mountain-principality—the appanage of his house, formerly wrested from him by Tippu, but now come to him again, as he fondly thought, by his suzerain's death. He was not, therefore, likely to abate one jot of his pretensions to authority there, even when he had to do with the political grand Seigneur who, dominated by imperial projects, had girded up his loins to the task of

painting the map of India red, and who had already wiped out of existence the most formidable of the country's powers, Tippu, *pour encourager les autres*. To the latter, therefore, the former's attempts to set himself up in Wynad appeared as an usurpation of novel authority, an act of open rebellion against himself. To such a clashing of authority, there could be but one issue—the argument of the “mailed fist.” And hostilities recommenced with the dawn of the new century. The requisite military preparations were made in Mysore with promptitude and vigour; and it was arranged that the Mysore troops should enter Malabar simultaneously with a respectable detachment from Bombay. The military control of the province was now placed under the Government of Fort St. George; and by their order, early in March, Col. Wellesley was invested with the General Command in Malabar and Canara as well as in Mysore. “But in consequence of the inadequate state of equipment of the troops in Malabar, it was found impracticable to move the proposed detachment within the period of the proper season.”* Military operations were, for the present, thus confined to strengthening the posts in the low country. Colonel Wellesley returned to Seringapatam in April, but nothing of much importance occurred beyond numerous secessions to the rebel ranks.† To stop this, Col. Wellesley recommended the Commissioners to seize the families and property of those who joined. He also proposed to starve the rebels in Wynad by cutting off all supplies from the low country; for, in a letter dated Camp at Yepulpurry, 14th September, 1800, we find him writing to Colonel Close as follows:—“The Pyche Rajah has no communication with Coorg and draws all the subsistence either from Mysore or Malabar, countries in our possession. Means might and ought to be taken by the Commissioners to stop the trade in grain between the Coast and Wynad and then the Pyche Rajah would be much distressed. But I am afraid that the destruction of the harvest in Bullum will do no more than create a temporary inconvenience.”‡ A second letter, a month later, to the same correspondent throws light not only on the difficulty Major Holmes had in relieving the advanced post of Manathana when besieged by the rebels, but also on the fear of a French invasion of India, led by Napoleon in person,

* The Marquess Wellesley to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 9th June, 1800.

† Logan's *Malabar* I. p. 531.

‡ The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, edited by Lt.-Col. Gurwood, 1837.

which filled the imagination of English statesmen at this period:—"I am more pressed than ever about troops. Lord Clive calls upon me to have a detachment ready to take possession of the ceded districts, and then to march to Poona. Sir William Clarke and Uhtoffe swear that the French are coming from Egypt, and want all the native infantry I have got; on the other hand, the last relief of Montana cost us 154 men killed and wounded (most of them coolies, however) and they are crying out there because they do not see the 12th and 2nd of the 5th marching into Cannanore on the 30th September, on which day they left Seringapatam. My business is to get over these difficulties in the best manner I can . . . I must also inform you that the fright which, affects Sir William Clarke and Uhtoffe pervades Bombay, where on account of the supposed danger, the 88th, which I expected in Malabar, is detained."

Shortly afterwards, Colonel Wellesley having been ordered to Ceylon on special duty, the command in Mysore, Malabar, and Canara devolved upon Colonel Stevenson, who entered Wynaad in the following January. On April 28th Colonel Wellesley returned from special duty and landed at Cannanore. Here, he met his friend Captain Elers—his Regiment, the 12th, being amongst the force that had been ordered to take the field. Elers afterwards accompanied the Colonel to Coorg and thence to Seringapatam, and describes the perilous journey in these words:—"When we left Cannanore we had only a guard of six troopers and between us and our friend the Coorg Rajah's country, lay part of our enemy's Cotiote country. Colonel Wellesley and I dashed on together first, unaccompanied by his staff or the troopers. The Colonel observed: Now, Elers, if we are taken prisoners I shall be hanged as being the brother of the Governor-General, and you will be hanged for being in bad company." But fortunately nothing untoward happened; for, as Elers remarks with sly humour, in that case the Colonel would not have been spared to win the battle of Waterloo or he to recount his adventures. And thus commenced, in the full tide of energy and exultation, and under the personal direction of the future Duke of Wellington, the long campaign against Kerala Varma of Cotiote, who held the country inland from Tellichery, the whole of Wynaad and some portion of the Nilgiri plateau.

But anything like a complete and readable narrative (Rickard's *Narrative*, as being a confidential Government publication, is a sealed boo to the general public) of this remarkable episode has yet to be written. True, Mr. Logan, Colonels Wilson, Welsh and Gurwood,

Montgomery, Martin and others, each shed some fresh light on the subject. They succeed in rendering the surrounding darkness visible; but their accounts are fragmentary at best; they possess neither a continuity of interest nor the witchery of description. And they afford us withal but a faint glimpse of the part therein played by the future Duke of Wellington—"that hero of my own making," as in gratuitous depreciation his supremely egoistic brother, Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, styled him.

It will be interesting to note in this connection, that among the multitudinous records of the Malabar Collector's Office at Calicut—some of them historical records of no mean value—are copies of a number of autograph letters of the Iron Duke, presumably relating to the Pyche Revolt. The originals are now not forthcoming, and were, it would appear, taken to England some years ago by a former Collector and afterwards returned. They have been missing ever since, and are now probably irrecoverably lost. By the way, the present writer happened to be in Camp, near Palassi, some time ago, and at Tellicherry *en route* came upon a valuable document, official correspondence over a century old, relating to the empalement alive on a *Kazhu** (or instrument of torture) of two Moplahs by this self-same Pyche Rajah: one of the *crucies* of the Rajah's career for which he was brought to trial and temporarily deprived of all authority, until by an act of indemnity and oblivion the Governor-General again reinstated him to his district. That was in September 1796. But a couple of months later, a proclamation set forth that:—

"Whereas the Cotiote or Pyche Raja, Caroola Warma, has lately betaken himself to the jungle and there, with a number of armed followers, set himself up in defiance to the Company's authority and spread menacing and inflammatory *olas* through the country. . . . This is to give public notice that none may hereafter plead ignorance of, or allow themselves to be misled by, the said Pyche Raja's evil views that he, the Pyche Raja, has had repeated offers of having his claims, whatever they may be, amicably adjusted by Government upon his fully and clearly stating the same in writing and demeaning himself as indeed becomes him in peaceable and obedient manner. . . ."

And wound up by threatening the Rajah's followers (who numbered 11 principal land-holders and 481 men) against their

* Literally, an eagle or vulture, from its supposed resemblance to that raptorial bird.

"blind and ruinous adherence to his cause and present disobedience," with sundry penalties, forfeitures, and "the severest effects of the displeasure of Government." In the present bird's-eye view of the events which led up to this famous yet forgotten rebellion, I briefly sketch not only the inception and course of the desultory guerilla warfare which followed in its wake and rent Malabar for a decade, but the part therein played by the brothers Wellesley. But for a clearer view of the affairs of that ever fascinating period, it will, I think, be as well to go back a little, and begin at the very beginning.

It has been well said that Hyder was born to found an empire, and Tippu to lose one. And not the least humiliating proviso in the memorable treaty which concluded the third Mysore war of 1790-92 was that relating to the curtailment by one-half of the Mysore territories, and the final cession to John Company of the Sultan's newly won possessions on the West Coast. The Treaty of Seringapatam for ever turned the tide of Tippu's mad schemes of conquest and dominion and practically decided the great issue of supremacy in the South. Malabar, accordingly, after having remained subject to Hyder and his son for more than one generation—during which she was occasionally wasted with fire and sword, often convulsed by the bitterest forms of religious persecution, and always suffered from the worst evils of military rule—passed over to the British, and was placed under the Presidency of Bombay.

But it will not be supposed that the predominant military class of Malabar, the Nairs, yielded to the Mysorean supremacy without a blow. Their warlike spirit, fostered by three centuries of fighting and ingrained, by such parlous enterprises as that of the *chaver* desperadoes, was not to be easily quenched. Gallantly they stood up for their frontiers, liberties, possibilities: desperately they struggled against possible extermination, or worse fate, the unspeakable horror and defilement of conversion. They fought like the Furies—fought for country, freedom honour—did these "turbulent and refractory people," who in Tippu's own words "from the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty four years. . . . caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom." But was it likely that against the superior numbers and generalship of the enemy their impotent courage could have availed for very long? No! And they were beaten. Still they held out, and sought in repeated national uprisings to shake off the detested yoke. But all in vain. And a sad autumn fell upon the land. The mute tragedy of a crushed nation awaited them. A bitter destiny

was theirs: and tardily and reluctantly they bowed the knee to the Mysorean. Defeated, they were yet not thoroughly subdued. They were bent, not broken: but their cup of misery was complete. Those who resisted the invader tooth and nail, or indignantly spurned to be honoured with Islam, were put to the sword or enslaved: others were forcibly converted and compelled to emigrate—thousands being thus obliged to eat of beef and assume the turban, and thousands more being driven from their native homes to the seat of empire. Such of the Chiefs and principal landholders as had the temerity to fly in the face of the Mysorean were, like the Kurangot Nair, on the merest pretext, caught and publicly hanged; such of them as came to be suspected of bad faith were, like Rama Varma, “King of the house of Palliculam of the Kingdom of Colastri,” hounded to death—even their dead bodies being exposed to the grossest indignities; others, including a Rajah of Parapanad and a Nambyar of Chirakkal—the latter destined to become famous hereafter as Hyder’s favourite and Governor of Bednur at the accession of Tippu, by name Hyat Saib—were constrained to become Moslems; and one and all were heavily mulcted, relatively to their rank—the Zamorin, who voluntarily perished in the flames in the year of Hyder’s first invasion, being made, but ineffectually, to disgorge the fabulous sum of one crore of gold mohurs!

Such was the Reign of Terror ushered in by Hyder in 1766, which—sweeping over in a tornado of mad fanaticism and bitter antipathy, and filling with the fire and fury of combat Hindu and Mahomedan alike—continued unabated for a black quarter of a century: a Reign of Terror which received zest from and culminated in Tippu’s invasion of 1789. He indeed out-Hydered Hyder, promulgated drastic proselytising methods and elaborated an aggressive propaganda, and altogether played his rôle of *khudadád sirkar* to perfection. During this period, many thousands of the inhabitants fled to the hills and jungles and there, in the tranquil neighbourhood of the hyena and the tiger, found that refuge which they could not find in their own fatherland. But they were pursued even thither and hunted down like wild beasts. The proud Nairs were almost cowed down. Like miserable curs they slunk away on the merest approach of a Mussalman, whom they loathed and evaded like an evil pestilence. The nobility and gentry and the twice-born, distressed to see their country given over to anarchy and despairing of the religion of their fathers, betook themselves to Travancore. The princes, rulers of *náds* and the *élite* of the land, filled with bitterness and resentment, followed suit. With signal and honourable exceptions

however ; as, for instance, Kerala Varma of Palassi, who resolutely refused to budge but remained gallantly on the defensive. It is with this scion of the once ruling house of "Cotiote," a great popular favourite and hero of a hundred exploits, the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" of Malabar, whose many deeds of daring are commemorated in song and still sung in ballads—that we are here concerned.

The Kshatriya family of Palassi, it may be mentioned, traced their descent in the female line from the Kurumbernad Rajahs. The latter probably became extinct about 1778 A.D. ; and the former, already masters of the chiefships (*nd s*) of Kottayam (the home of black pepper), Tamarasseri, the Wynad (noted for cardamoms), now laid claim to the country which belonged to their kinsmen. Meantime, Hyder had again invaded Malabar in 1774. He found the northern Rajahs disposed to give trouble ; especially "Cotiote" (Kottayam), who would not come to terms, had been consequently dispossessed, and his district made over to Chirakkal. In 1778, war broke out between the French and the English ; and Hyder and his tributary of Chirakkal at once ranged themselves on the French side. Kottayam, on the other hand, firmly allied himself with the English. He repossessed himself of his domain of Palassi with their support ; and he rendered them signal aid not only in the attack on Mahe, which capitulated the following year, but in the defence of Tellicherry, where he and his nephew Kerala Varma now took up their abode. This settlement continued in a state of close siege until Major Abington, in a successful sortie, dispersed the combined forces of the besiegers in January 1782. Prior to this, an attempt was made by Hyder's Fouzdar, Sirdar Khan (now a wounded prisoner) to bring matters to an amicable adjustment with Kottayam, his real object having been to draw him off from the English alliance ; but that shrewd old Chief would not accede to this essential condition, and so negotiations fell through. On Hyder's death, Arshed Beg succeeded as Governor of Malabar. A Mussalman of rare parts and rarer humanity, he was a just and able ruler, and is famous as the originator of the Malabar land revenue system. Soon after his arrival in Malabar, he settled with the "country powers" for their revenues of 1783—84 on easy and equitable terms, Kottayam stipulating to pay one lakh. This same amount he had agreed to pay the Hon'ble Company in the previous year, were he taken under their protection and countenanced as an ally ; but this the Bombay Government were too feeble and reluctant to do, and the proposal was given up. Accordingly, after this we find

Kottayam, with his brother Chiefs of Chirakkal and Kadattanad, in the Coorg country in 1785, like liege vassals doing homage and tendering *nazerana* to Tippu: he being, nevertheless, compelled to relinquish Wynad on this occasion and awarded a *jaghire* as a solatium. Wynad thus became a dependency on the cutcherry of Seringapatam in 1787, and soon after this Tippu invaded Malabar.

It was in February 1789 that Tippu, advancing along the passes of Wynád, beyond Tamarasseri—passes so steep and narrow and withal so reminiscent of old Thermopylæ, where

“ A hundred men could hold the post

With hardiness against a host ”—

burst upon his astonished Hindu subjects like the iconoclast Mahmud of Ghazni before him ; and burning with a zeal as frantic as Mahmud's for their wholesale conversion to the true faith, issued his famous proclamation. This was indeed the signal for a general exodus of Malabar Chiefs and Brahmans, as many as 30,000 of the latter escaping in four months from the Calicut division alone ! And the three eldest members of the “ Cotiote ” house were among those who fled to Travancore to avoid the deeds of devilry and unheard-of cruelty which marked Tippu's mission of proselytism. But the fourth, Kerala Varma, as we have seen, remained behind. He, at the head of his Nair levies, defied Tippu and in right guerilla style persistently delayed and thwarted him. Now retreating into the jungles, again as soon reappearing with a band of doughty, full-blooded Nairs, and constantly impressing men and provisions, he successfully played his game of intolerably harrying and harassing the enemy. So, what with rebellion in Malabar and what with the threatened approach of the monsoon, Tippu thought it best to let the Nairs severely alone for the present and seek a fresh virgin soil for his continuance of the blessed work of conquest and proselytism. Accordingly, he bent his steps towards that stronghold of Hindu worship and orthodoxy, Travancore, which he reached before the close of the year. He, in direct violation of the Treaty of Mangalore, attacked—but was ignominiously beaten off—the Travancore lines, thus affording the English *casus belli* for a declaration of war against him. And thus the third Mysore war broke out, which culminated later in Lord Cornwallis' brilliant campaign of 1791-92.

Military movements and operations soon became the order of the day on the West Coast. In April, 1790, active measures were taken by Major Dow for clearing Malabar of Tippu's patrols and garrisons

Kerala Varma receiving a *kowl* from the Tellicherry Chief and in his turn promising to "enter heartily into the war against Tippu Sultan and act vigorously against him." With a considerable body of Nairs he joined the English army on its arrival. He not improbably expected that the Hon'ble Company would extend to him the same consideration as was shown his neighbour, hereditary foe and quondam prisoner, the Coorg Raja, who in 1793 was allowed a free hand in the "interior management" of his country. In this he was disappointed. To his excessive chagrin and amazement, the senior Palassi Rajahs returned to Kurumbernad on the conclusion of the war, and were accordingly put in immediate possession thereof. This naturally greatly incensed Kerala Varma, and he now rose in open rebellion. He resolved to hold his own against the English with the same envenomed vigour with which but yesterday he had faced the hosts of Tippu. A general commotion set in, which lit the whole country in one blaze of revolt. It lasted nine years. British blood and money flowed like running water. Some of England's ablest soldiers (such as Wellesley, Sartorius, Stevenson, Montessor and others) were in the field. Their pluck and gallantry, great as they indisputably were, could not, in what may be described as this guerilla hide-and-seek, for a long time make the least head against the enemy. The stability and security of the Government were jeopardised : their resources drained to the last rupee. Yet, in the end, British arms prevailed.

But here I must break off. The Earl of Mornington, in a letter to the Madras Government, dated the 15th January 1800, expressed himself on the *vexata questio* of the Pyche Raja's claims to the Wynad, as follows :—

"With respect to Wynad, my decided opinion is, that any consideration of the pretensions of the Pyche Rajah previously to our taking possession of the district under the treaty of Mysore would be fatal to the authority of the Company. No compromise must therefore be admitted on the subject. The authority of the Company must be established in Wynad as soon as possible, and if the Pyche Rajah should presume to resist the measure, his contumacy must be punished with the most signal severity."

And he wrote a batch of similar letters to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors and to Henry Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) in the same year. Probably, as appears from one of his later letters, he was still hoping against hope that the recalcitrant Rajah would temporise and surrender at discretion : but that high-

spirited prince was nothing if not ambitious ; not wisely but too well he loved the sovereignty and jurisdiction of an independent prince ; wrongheadedly or no, he believed in the justice of his cause ; and he was the last person to recant or climb down. Colonel Wellesley, indeed, had some time previously, in a letter to Lt.-Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close from Seringapatam, somewhat airily stated :—" I have settled everything for the reception of the Pyche Rajah in the fort, and I will take charge of him whenever Purneah shall send him." And to the same correspondent we find him writing in much the same spirit, under date the 10th October :—

" I now come to the most difficult part, which is Malabar. They say there is a rebellion in Wynad, and we may hope, like Voltaire, that the Nairs of the Pyche Rajah may be strangled with ropes made of the bowels of those on the side of Yemen Nair. . . ."

The said " Yemen Nair " (or correctly Palloor Eman Nair) being a protégé of the Company and friend of Wellesley, and an emissary of the Pyche Raja and rebel in disguise, rolled in one. But alas for Wellesley's expectations ! The story of their tardy and unhappy realisation is a long one and will best be told separately.

U. BALA KRISHNAN NAIR.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

**The Empire and
the Empire Day.**

The Earl of Meath once more calls upon the citizens of the British Empire to observe on the 24th of May the political festival inaugurated by him. In India we have already made a beginning in the direction of observing certain days as politically sacred. The Mohurram, originally a quasi-political commemoration, has now passed into a religious observance. The Vijaya-dasami, once the awakener of the political conscience of ambitious princes, has ceased to convey any secular meaning. The Ganapati-melas and the Mohurram processions now and then manage to fan into a flame the smouldering political antagonism between the Hindu and the Mussalman, but the gatherings are in no sense political. Since the awakening of the national sentiment in India under modern influences, the "Sivaji Day" celebration, confined practically to Poona and Calcutta, has inaugurated a movement which, in some form or other and with inevitable vicissitudes, bids fair to serve a purpose analogous to the object of Lord Meath's "Empire Day." For obvious reasons Sivaji is not adored throughout India, nor is he loved by all communities. In the Maratha country he will ever be remembered. Bengal is a whispering gallery, which will echo the notes of Dekhani patriotism : they still leave a void to be filled up, and in obedience to a lady's patriotic suggestion, a local hero's memory has also been unearthed. In other parts of India patriotism is too unsentimental to ignite so easily. It is felt here and there that an Akbar Day might be an improvement upon the Sivaji Day. Akbar's fame, however, is not co-extensive with British India : Burma never knew him, and even within the boundary of Mogul India not all imaginations can realise and bring back to life visions which were

practically still-born, and which are buried nearly three centuries deep. The voices of the past may enthuse particular communities : India as a whole has not responded to them, and it will be a long time before the promptings of the intellect are transformed into impulses of the heart. It is not because India has been a nation, with the consciousness of a political or other unity, that the memory of the great rulers of the past is sought to be revived : it is because India wants to be a nation. In setting a national idol for united veneration, we have to forget almost as much as we have to remember. Hence the difficulty of making any choice which will at once appeal to the heart, and will require no argument and the balancing of pros and cons to justify it. A day may come when the difficulty will be solved, and the present attempts to find a hero for universal acceptance will result in a successful movement : that day, however, is not as yet within human ken. It is probable that if the " Empire Day " movement is vigorously taken up, it will furnish a solution and a goal for those vague longings which find their expression in the actual or proposed celebrations which are fitfully talked about. The national sentiment, as distinguished from Hindu or Muhammadan sentiment, in India, dates from the establishment of British rule. That which holds India together is also the force which binds the whole of the British Empire together. The Imperial sentiment corresponds to a living reality : it is, therefore, easier for one to be enthusiastic about it than about a past which proved abortive and has to be clothed with new flesh and blood by an effort of the imagination. What, then, is the " Empire Day " and why are we asked to celebrate it ? According to the Earl of Meath's conception, its object is " to promote the Christian sentiment of peace and goodwill towards men," and to unite the 400 million subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII. " by all the bonds which can truly unite a free, enlightened and loyal people." Lord Meath's Imperialism is not synonymous with jingoism : its object is not to conquer, but to consolidate and to conciliate. It is to lay to heart the lessons taught by the history of other Empires which have declined and fallen, and to safeguard the British Empire, if possible, against the fate which has overtaken others. The causes of the internal decay and disruption of Empires, as we are reminded by the Earl of Meath, have been spiritual and moral atrophy in the body

politic, the growth of luxury and of selfishness, and want of interest in the affairs of the commonwealth. The celebration of the Empire Day, therefore, is not to be made an occasion for boasting, but for an inculcation and realisation of the responsibilities of Empire and for emphasising all those virtues which alone are rewarded with a continuance of temporal power. Thus conceived, the movement in which we are asked to join is one which ought to make for righteousness. If it succeeds in promoting throughout the Empire the spirit which actuates it, we have no reason to look askance at it, but every reason to hail it as a grateful sign of the times.

It is perhaps natural in a dependency that Imperialism should be regarded with special prejudice, as if it were synonymous with political brigandage, and that the patriot should reckon it among his primary duties to stimulate national ambition, as if it were inconsistent with a contented and cheerful acceptance of the subordinate position which even a self-governing colony, and *a fortiori* a dependency, must necessarily fill in a scheme of Imperialism. Since the Japanese victories in Manchuria an almost unlimited vista of possibilities has opened up before the vision of the Indian patriot; and sympathy with Imperialism is apt to be scouted as if it could be prompted only by cowardice and a craven diffidence in the capabilities of the Asiatic races. About the ultimate destiny of nations no one can profess to know anything. Unlike Japan, India is at present a dependency, unable to protect itself and helpless without the protection of England. For a country so situated the more expedient, not to say the more proper, attitude to assume would be one of active acknowledgment of the privileges, rather than of passive acquiescence in the responsibilities, of the situation. The movement to draw the colonies closer to the Mother Country by fiscal inducements would have derived little support if the colonies had not actively co-operated in the late South African war. The Indian deputation which is about to go to England is likely to be most cordially received and to achieve its purpose best, if the British public—our hosts in England—are assured that the Indian sentiment towards Great Britain is one of genuine and grateful attachment, rather than one of constant querulousness and determined discontent. A different kind of tune may be called for in a meeting of socialists and others who are discontented with things as

they are and as they effect them in their own country. If we wish to place ourselves in right relations with the British public as a whole, the colonial attitude may be found more tactful and expedient. Hence it is imaginable how an enthusiastic celebration of the Empire Day in India may tend even to strengthen the position of the deputation in England. The people's party in India has no votes, no power : it is only by moral suasion and by an appeal to the ruling conscience that it can hope to attain the desired end. In so far as the Empire Day movement will range itself on the side of justice and goodwill, we may find it as useful for our purposes as the Earl of Meath expects it will prove conducive to the highest glory and assured stability of the Empire. And have we nothing to gain by a wider recognition throughout the British Dominions of those principles of spiritual vitality and an unselfish regard for the interests of the commonwealth at large which the Earl of Meath would see promoted ? Lord Curzon, in the last meeting of his Council, gave a graphic description of the battles which he had to fight in defence of the Indian emigrants in South Africa. Outside the colonies it is everywhere felt that the restrictions imposed on free Indians in South Africa—there are some 50,000 of them in Natal—are unreasonable and minimise the value of being subjects of the British Empire. Lord Curzon had to admit that, though supported by His Majesty's Government, he could not persuade the colonies to relax their attitude. He had to acknowledge that " the problem is one for which it is exceedingly difficult to find a solution. Colonies possessing, or likely before long to possess, rights of self-government cannot be dictated to in such matters, and the feeling that exists among them is undoubtedly very strong. It has seemed to us to be our duty to do nothing to inflame that feeling, but to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause of those whose natural protectors we are, and to make no concession whatever until we obtain a full *quid pro quo* in return." The Australian colonies go even further than South Africa and will not allow their mails to be carried by steamers employing a coloured crew ! Colour is only a little less abhorrent than cholera, and paternity than plague. Will this feeling ever be overcome, and how is it to be overcome ? The Earl of Meath says that the Empire Day has been adopted by Canada and 22 other colonies and dependencies, including five out

of the six self-governing colonies. The promoters of the movement hope that throughout all the colleges and schools of the Empire stress may be laid, by lecturers and teachers, on the duties and responsibilities attaching to the noble privilege of British citizenship. For,

If in youth knowledge be obtained and interest be aroused in regard to the Empire, there is little fear that prejudice, or that the wiles of ill-disposed men shall be able to prevent the growth of that friendly, and even affectionate, feeling between all sections of the British Empire, which must be the ardent desire of all true patriots, and of those animated by the Christian Spirit of peace and goodwill towards men. The inculcation into the minds of the youth of the nation of such noble and inspiring sentiments, as those of loyalty to a common Sovereign, of patriotism towards a common Empire, of self-sacrificing devotion towards fellow-citizens of a State enjoying the rights of freedom and of personal liberty in a greater degree than the inhabitants of even the most advanced Republics, cannot fail to have in a few years, as these youths and maidens grow to manhood and womanhood, an almost incalculable effect on the direction of public and private affairs, leading to greater happiness amongst the people, to a *better feeling between white and coloured men and women*, between political parties, creeds and classes, and must inevitably tend towards the universal reign of *righteous dealing between man and man*, between nation and nation, and the advent of the time when peace and goodwill shall exist between all men upon earth.

Thus one of the avowed objects of the Empire Day movement is the removal of those very prejudices which Lord Curzon's advocacy and pressure from His Majesty's Government have alike been unable to correct. Let us hope with the Earl of Meath that the influence of an early inculcation of higher principles will in a few years, or in another generation, achieve what politicians have unsuccessfully attempted by their negotiations.

In India itself we are not altogether free from misunderstandings between white and coloured men. For our present purpose we may leave out of consideration wrong-doing pure and simple, such as Lord Curzon had to bear so much obloquy from one side, and could earn such evanescent thanks from the other, for endeavouring to suppress. Confining ourselves to avowed principles, we have of late had a good deal of discussion regarding the employment of Europeans and Natives in the public service. There was a time

when, under the Company, only covenanted civilians—practically Europeans—could legally hold administrative posts. The supply of such men proved inadequate, and uncovenanted Europeans as well as Natives had to be appointed, and it is interesting to note that the employment of Natives of India in the public service commenced with the validation of an illegality ! The legal impediment having once been removed, the tendency was to employ Natives of India more and more in the public service. In some provinces this tendency has continued undisturbed. Lord Curzon's Government claimed in a Resolution published last year that, taking the figures for India as a whole, the proportion of Europeans in the public service had steadily declined, while that of Natives of India gradually increased. A closer examination of the figures seems to show that up to the eighties the policy of reducing the proportion of Europeans in the public service was steadily adhered to ; in the eighties we observe a slight reaction, at least in one province ; since 1897—one of the stages in the compilation of statistics, and not a year otherwise memorable—the Europeans have somewhat rapidly multiplied in Bengal and in the Punjab. Under other Administrations, no reaction is visible, though it may be said that the reduction has been much more tardy than, say, during the two decades prior to the National Congress. We have no wish to assert any connection between Tenderdon Steeple and Goodwin Sands, but the figures published by Government bring to light a rather striking coincidence : before Congress politics became popular, the reduction of the European element in the public service went on systematically and rapidly ; since then the Government would appear to have been overtaken by a sort of nervousness in pursuing the policy further. It may be said that there must be for a long time to come a certain irreducible minimum of Europeans in the public service, and that as this minimum is approached the original pace cannot be kept up. While realising the force of that consideration, there still remains the significant fact that in two of the provinces at least a somewhat sharp reaction is visible. Figures taken in the gross are often misleading, and there may be a satisfactory explanation of the apparent set-back. Yet in the absence of any explanation, authoritatively furnished, the mind is apt to run after some theory which will more or less satisfactorily account for the coincidence. The theory which looks most plausible

to our mind is one that is suggested by a remark made by Lord Curzon in his reply to the Honourable Member who had criticised the Government Resolution. "The Hon'ble Member will never find," said His Excellency in his last Budget speech, "any reluctance on the part of Government to recognise and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen. But he must not be surprised if the generous tendencies are sometimes chilled, when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists." Why are the generous tendencies chilled? Is there no other refrigerating agent, besides the attribution of racial bias, which also would reduce the temperature of those tendencies? What is "practical expediency" in making appointments to the public service, as distinguished from personal fitness? Has that expediency any reference to the difficulty of maintaining harmonious relations between European subordinates and Native superiors—a difficulty which is not felt in the Native States and ought not to be felt in British India; or does it refer to any political considerations? Is it not true that the earlier recipients of Western education in India were credited with a stronger and a more genuine desire to draw closer towards England than the present generation is? Has the policy of the sixties and seventies nothing to do with the hopeful pride with which Englishmen regarded the great Indians of those decades who have left their mark on the administrative history of British and Native India and on the history of religious and social reform? Was it not felt at one time, say, when Keshub Chander Sen was delivering his thrilling and inspired utterances in England and in India, that Western education was binding East and West together with indissoluble links? Has not that hope lost somewhat of its rosy tinge, and has not a calculating suspicion lent to it a pale and sickly hue? Can the Englishman clasp our hand with the same warm and cordial grip as before, when we transfer to the Yellow Sea the associations with which we at one time surrounded the English Channel? Are Lord Curzon's repeated reminders to us that the destiny of India is indissolubly bound up with that of England, and that India is an organic part of the British Empire, mere rhetorical flourishes, unconnected with the signs of the times, which he cannot describe, and yet he cannot but discern? Confidence cannot

be had for the asking : it has to be commanded by unimpeachable action. We have ample opportunities to criticise Government: we are never tired of expatiating upon the broken pledges and unredeemed iniquities of those for whom we yet profess our warmest attachment. Busy men may not be able to follow the esoteric explanations of this psychological paradox. If we wish to be understood by plain men in a plain manner we must create for ourselves or embrace opportunities of expressing sentiments of a different and a more reassuring import. The Empire Day movement will, we think, afford us the needed opportunity. It will, on the one hand, enable us to recall and realise what we owe to the Empire : it will, on the other hand, remind others what the Empire owes to us. The 24th of May was the birthday of Queen Victoria. Englishmen remember that " it was during her beneficent reign that the British Empire attained in great measure to its present vast extent. It was during the period of her glorious rule that liberty and freedom, prosperity and wealth, that righteous and equitable government, grew and grew within the confines of her dominions, until the British Empire won the universal admiration of its friends, became the terror of its enemies, and the envy of the world." As to the sentiments of veneration and love which India cherishes for the memory of the late Queen-Empress, our countrymen have expressed them so well and so often that we are sure the reader will recall them with a vividness which no articulation can impart to them.

CURRENT EVENTS.

OF the calamities that now and then visit India, earthquakes, fortunately, do not occupy as prominent a position as they do in Japan and some other parts of the world. Yet we had something like ten disastrous earthquakes in the last century ; one in the eighteenth century is believed to have destroyed 300,000 lives. The Himalayas are yet forming : only the geologist may, or perhaps he too may not, be able to divine how long this majestic fold on the earth's surface may be in the process of completion. The earthquake of last month was not the most destructive on record ; yet it was more disastrous than most of the recent calamities. In Kangra Valley it claimed something like 15,000 victims and in Kulu perhaps 2,000. The area most affected in Kangra Valley was about 700 square miles in extent, and within this area houses have been levelled to the ground, roads have been broken, bridges crumpled up, and irrigation channels damaged. A complete geological account of the seismic disturbance has not yet been published. The meteorological reporter of Kashmir has published the observations recorded at Srinagar. Mr. Louis Dane's Mission, on its way back from Kabul, felt the shock. The shocks repeated themselves at Simla. After an interval of some days the seismic wave appeared at Bandar Abbas, where it caused considerable damage. The name Jvålámukhi within the area of disturbance in the Panjab seems to preserve the traditional reminiscence of a volcano which has long been inactive. It does not appear that the earthquake of last month was due to volcanic action. Active measures have been adopted to relieve the sufferers : the military and medical departments have done their best to remove the dead and occasionally the living from the débris, and in supplying medical aid. Private charity has come to the fore ; according to the estimate of the Panjab Government, five lakhs of rupees may be required for the relief of the sufferers among the civil population. The Japanese Government, which knows from painful and repeated experience what an earthquake means, instructed its consul at Bombay to convey its message of sympathy personally to the Viceroy. Lord Kitchener has started a separate fund for the relief of the Gurkha sufferers.

In Bombay the plague has been more virulent than last year. The return of plague deaths for the whole of India during the week ending the 29th April is a doleful record, and this record is repeated week after week. In the last week of April there were in the Bombay Presidency 2,378 plague deaths; in Madras, 49; in Bengal 4,733; in the United Provinces, 15,710; in the Panjab, 28,728; in Burma, 147; in the Central Provinces, 116; in Mysore, 51; in Hyderabad State, 95; in Central India, 59; in Rajputana, 4,298; in Kashmir, 368; total, 56,732. If anything, this may be an underestimate, for the reporting of plague deaths is not equally satisfactory in all parts of India. Science has discovered no remedy for the disease which is popularly resorted to. Apart from evacuation of infected dwellings, the only remedy as yet discovered is inoculation. It is not an absolute remedy: it is claimed for it that two-thirds of the people inoculated have not been attacked, and one half of those attacked have survived. When it is remembered that those who are careful enough to inoculate themselves are generally intelligent and rich enough to take other precautions against the disease, the value of the figures is further reduced. The Malkowal tragedy, as it is called, for a time at least, opened the eyes of the people to unsuspected dangers of inoculation. It was found after careful investigation that the loss of nineteen lives at Malkowal through tetanus among the inoculated was due to the omission of carbolic acid in the serum, which is added as a safeguard against contamination. The explanation is so far satisfactory; but it is still believed, without protest from men of science, that inoculation may be tried with impunity only on healthy subjects. Who can guarantee a man's perfect health? One may have a tendency to rheumatism, another to consumption, a third man to some other lurking disease. Even the partial protection does not last for more than six months. One may also hear it sometimes complained that for a considerable period after the operation, the inoculated arm loses its wonted strength: possibly in such cases the operation was carelessly performed. Anyhow when the risks to be run every six months are balanced against the doubtful advantages of the remedy, we can easily understand why the remedy is not popular. Those who resorted to it at one time have got tired of it. As it is the only remedy known, the Government is willing to lend its moral support to inoculation, but practically there is a desire everywhere for some other remedy if it can be discovered. At the instance of the Government of India, the Secretary of State has appointed a Committee for the Investigation of Plague, especially the conditions under which it spreads. The Committee consists of Surgeon-General Branfoot, of the India Office, as Chairman; Sir Michael Foster and Dr. J. Rose Bradford, nominated by the Royal Society; Col. David Bruce and Charles J. Martin, nominated by the

Lister Institute ; and Dr. A. E. Boycott, who will act as Secretary. Dr. Martin has already arrived in India, and after he has arranged all the preliminaries the Committee will start for India. The figures we have quoted will show that the Panjab is the hardest hit of all the provinces. It is the recruiting ground for the Indian army : it is a province where much is expected from colonisation schemes. As a nursery of the manhood of India the Government feels a keener interest in the contentment and material prosperity of that province than perhaps of any other. The headquarters of the Committee, however, may have to be located at Bombay.



In accordance with a Resolution passed by the National Congress in December last, a deputation of Indian gentlemen is about to be sent to England to place before British electors and British statesmen the views of the Congress regarding the political needs of India. It is intended that the deputation should take part in the ensuing General Election : that event being still in the womb of time, the exact moment when the campaign can be opened remains shrouded in mystery. Some of the delegates are expected to leave India by the middle of this month, and they will perhaps be wise if they do not wait for the General Election. The great question which will almost exclusively occupy the attention of the electorate at the time of the next General Election is that raised by Mr. Chamberlain. The Congress has not yet dealt with it : the Indian press has not been able to focus the discussion on any particular points, as no definite proposals regarding India have been placed before the country. The deputation has practically no instructions from the country as to the attitude it should assume on the one large issue on which the General Election will be fought out. The Government of India have expressed their views, and Lord Curzon, in his last budget speech, denied that they had been arrived at in a hurry. So far as we can see, the deputation will have merely to support the Government of India. The deputation will be in an awkward position for another reason. Our Radical friends will put pressure upon the members to support the Liberal cause, as far as it lies in their power to support one cause more than the other. The Liberals are freetraders, and the general belief is that India is intensely protectionist. Neither party will be prepared to grant us the exact kind of protection that Indian economists are said to be in favour of : yet, with the Conservatives they will have at least one thing in common—a dissent from Cobdenism. With the Liberals they will agree only in leaving the present policy undisturbed, not because they approve of it, but because they are prepared to disapprove of Mr. Balfour's halting policy. Before the General Election the deputation will have ample leisure to wait upon British statesmen

and to address meetings wherever the gentlemen are invited to speak on problems that affect India most.



The is a lull in Manchuria. The revolutionary movement in Russia shows no signs of abatement. It does not seem to come rapidly to a head : the country is so vast, the peasantry so poor, while the Government is vigilant and powerful. The sensation of the hour is supplied by the movements of the German Emperor on the one hand, and of the Baltic fleet on the other. It is difficult to believe that while France is professing such friendship for England, the authorities in Indo-China will be allowed to give any cause to Japan to precipitate an international situation which must set the two neighbouring countries at loggerheads. Admiral Rozhdestvensky will perhaps take as much advantage as he can of the improbability of any more European Powers embroiling themselves in a war. Japan as yet finds no necessity to bring about a state of tension when she can hold England to her agreement. The telegrams about King Edward's movements are gravely mysterious. One would imagine that they had something to do with some secret designs of the Kaiser : yet when it is remembered that it is not the President of the French Republic that hurries often to England, the mystery becomes all the more dark.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RACE AND SPEECH.

To the Editor, EAST AND WEST.

OF *East and West*, Dr. A. H. Keane, one of the authorities on ethnology, does me the honour of writing on Indian race problem in a paper entitled "Race and Speech." Dr. Keane seems to admit the soundness of the main grounds upon which I base my criticism of Mr. Risley : (1) That Mr. Risley's anthropometric data, instead of exhibiting a diversity of physical types among non-Mongoloid Indians, exhibit uniformity ; (2) That caste has nothing to do with race distinctions.

But on certain other points Dr. Keane clearly misunderstands my meaning. He writes : "I would now like to ask Mr. Chanda, has he realised all that is implied in the statement that all the Indian populations are of one stock?" After analysing Mr. Risley's figures, I explain all that I realise by my theory in the following words : "From a comparison of the data given above it appears that there is such a thing as

an Indian national type characterised by long head and medium size (height)." By this I do not mean that the present physical uniformity necessarily implies primordial unity. In another paper on Mr. Risley's classification of the Indian physical types, published in the *Englishman* of the 30th April, 1904, my position relating to the ethnic significance of the fundamental linguistic differences is clearly defined. Therein I hold that the present population of India is a chemical compound, and not a mechanical mixture, of the three ethnic elements represented by the three stock languages—Kolarian or Munda, Dravidian, and Aryan. The following extract from Dr. Keane's paper may well serve to further explain my view :—

"Now this very fusion, which is the outcome of secular interminglings of the three or four fundamental elements, lies at the root of all the confusion and difficulties permeating the whole field of Indian ethnology. It has brought about such a superficial uniformity of type amongst the great masses of the settled and urban populations, and even, as we have seen, to some extent, amongst the outcasts and wild tribes, that the deeper discrepancies are overlooked, the original constituent elements obscured and forgotten, and on anthropometric grounds the whole India is declared by many ethnologists to be inhabited by a homogeneous race, broadly characterised by long heads (mean cephalic index perhaps 75° or 76°), medium height, darkish complexion, and more or less regular features." (pp. 351-352).

The only difference between myself and Dr. Keane is that while I regards the "uniformity of type" as "superficial," I call it "essential." This difference is due to the difference of standpoints. While I approach the Indian racial problem from the standpoint of physical anthropology, Dr. Keane, in the present paper, approaches it mainly from the standpoint of philology.

Again, Dr. Keane supposes that I appeal to the ancient Sanskrit literature in support of my theory of racial unity. Nothing could be farther from my mind than such an unscientific line of argument. I appealed to the Brahmanic literature to prove that Mr. Risley's theory of the race basis of caste is inconsistent with the beliefs and practices of the people among whom the caste system grew up. I endeavoured to show "that the Vedic poets and the great sages of the past were not of both ethnology and philology."

In conclusion, I would add that Dr. Grierson (and to whom Dr. Keane erroneously attributes the chapter on language in the Indian Census Report) has, if I remember right, given up the theory of the common origin of the Munda and Dravidian languages in his latest contribution on the subject, published in the April (1904) issue of the "Asiatic Quarterly."

Yours faithfully,

RAMA PRASAD CHANDA.

